



REFERENCE



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Part I

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THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



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The
Pennsylvania-German
Society

PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES

AT

GERMANTOWN, OCT. 25, 1904

VOL. XV

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Publication Committee.
JULIUS F. SACHSE, Litt.D.
DANIEL W. NEAD, M.D.
HENRY M. M. RICHARDS.

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Pennsylvania — THE GERMAN INFLUENCE IN ITS SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT :

Part XV. The Pennsylvania-German in the French and Indian War, by H. M. M. Richards.

Frederick the Great and the United States, by J. G. Rosengarten.
Old Historic Germantown, by N. H. Keyser, D.D.S.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

FOR 1904-1905

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ETHAN ALLEN WEAVER, C.E., M.S.

Secretary:

H. M. M. RICHARDS.

Treasurer:

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1908-09.

REV. L. KRYDER EVANS, D.D.,
DR. JOHN FRANKLIN MENTZER.



REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY
AT ITS
FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

HELD AT GERMANTOWN, PA.

ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1904

THE Executive Committee of the Society held its regular quarterly meeting, at the residence of the Treasurer, Dr. Julius F. Sachse, 4428 Pine Street, Philadelphia, at 2:00 P. M. on Monday, October 24, for the transaction of its business.

MORNING SESSION.

The Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania-German Society was held in the Market Square Presbyterian Church, Germantown, Pa., on Tuesday, October 25, 1904.

The members joined with, and were the guests of, The Site and Relic Society of Germantown, in celebrating the

two hundred and twenty-first anniversary of the founding of Germantown, Pennsylvania, and the beginning of German emigration to North America.

The large gathering was called to order by the President, the Rev. John S. Stahr, D.D., President of Franklin & Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa., at 9:30 A. M.

After an eloquent invocation by the Rev. Prof. H. E. Jacobs, D.D., LL.D., of the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Mt. Airy, the Society was kindly welcomed to Germantown by Elliston P. Morris, Esq., Vice President of The Site and Relic Society.

ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

As an officer of The Site and Relic Society of Germantown, it is my pleasant duty, on its behalf, to welcome to our old town the members of the Pennsylvania-German Society, whose Executive Committee has done us the honor of selecting this part of our city for its annual meeting. Perhaps few places more fitting for this could have been found, for here came that noble band of German emigrants, first attracted to the "Holy Experiment," the reasons for which were so forcibly explained by William Penn himself to those in the Fatherland that they left home and all its ties to try their fortunes in the New World. The practical aim of these emigrants is shown on their adopted seal, for there appears the flax and the spinning wheel, interwoven with the Indian corn and wheat.

Penn, with his large-hearted liberality, granted to the little colony the land on which Germantown stands, and soon the present Main street was dotted with houses, built, it is said, to face upon an old Indian trail, which may explain its easily discernible crookedness. They

built well in those days, and there may still be seen a few of these works of the early settlers or their children.

That such emigrants, with their sturdy arms and habits, were a great success is no marvel, and soon the little settlement rose into prominence and became noted both for agriculture and manufacture. Even still the town is famed for its hosiery and knit goods, and for its Germantown wool, the latter of world-wide fame. But its record for good works was not behind, for here Christopher Sauer first printed his German Bible, and the German Friends of Germantown were the first to raise their voice in protest against human slavery, and started that tremendous uprising which culminated in our late Rebellion, and the ultimate freedom of the slave under the proclamation of the sainted Abraham Lincoln.

Whilst you are in our midst we wish you should feel at home. I do not doubt in your rides about the town you will have pointed out to you a number of places of interest. Many of them it is the object of our society to mark with tablets, so that when we have passed away the next generation may know what we do, and with us honor such men as Pastorius, Sauer and Rittenhouse, and in turn strive to follow after them.

The old German Reformed Church building, which in 1776 stood just where this beautiful modern one has been erected, was a model of those in the old Home Land, and I have never ceased to regret its demolition; in fact, I cannot believe if it had stood till now that the present congregation would ever have allowed it to be taken down. It was truly quaint and striking. In its little belfry hung a bell which, though long unused, I have heard the congregation still preserve, and the rosy-cheeked cherubs which, with their long trumpets looked down on the earnest worshipers and were a marvel to my childish eye.

It was here that the great George Washington worshiped when he occupied the house nearby, as President of the United States, during the terrible visitation to our city of the yellow fever in the years of 1793-94. Then the services were altogether in German, and I myself well remember when English preaching was alternated with the German. But that has all passed away, and different indeed is the present congregation from the one that then worshiped here. The same house that President Washington afterwards occupied was seized by the British at the time of the battle of Germantown, and they made it the headquarters of Lord Howe, and from it he issued his orders to his troops. I am glad it has for the last one hundred years been owned by one family, and its successive owners have kept everything as near as possible as they were in those stirring times.

The houses of the Wisters, the Ashmeads, the Haineses, the Channons, the Johnsons, the Billmyers and others, and the Chews (the latter known as the battle ground) are all much as they were then, and each has its history. You will see also the quaint old Mennonite Meeting House, whilst on the Wissahickon you will have pointed out the birthplace of Rittenhouse and the old monastery. At the Germantown Mutual Fire Insurance Company, only a stone's throw from where we are sitting, you will see the old hand fire engine imported for the town in 1764, which was housed on the square opposite, and is one of our precious relics. The school house, in the Alumni Hall of which you expect to dine, is also of rare historic interest. The academy building was erected and held as it still is by the freemen of the town, and they still choose the principal and the board of directors.

It is a most successful institution, and under the wise

administration of Professor William Kershaw has become widely known both at home and abroad.

The solid stone building was just finished when the appeal to arms in 1776 was sounded. As good loyal citizens, and subjects of King George, the then directors had sent to Great Britain for a bell to hang in their beautiful steeple, and it, having been cast, was sent in the tea ship which came to Philadelphia. But neither the ship nor its cargo were suffered to land. Though less bellicose at the time than our New England brethren (who threw their ship load of tea into Boston harbor), the gentler sons of Penn ordered the vessel and its freight to return to England, where both remained till the angel of peace spread its wings, and the hearts of the people were sufficiently warmed to welcome the bell, when it was safely hung in the belfry, and where it has since rung its daily peal.

On the steeple, when built, was placed a vane, and above it the British crown. There, happily, it is still in place, and when you visit the spot, and hear the bell, which you certainly will, and see the crown above it, you will I know with me honor the spirit which has preserved both, and feel none the less the true pride of an American citizen.

The response to this kind welcome was ably made, on behalf of the Society, by the Rev. L. Kryder Evans, D.D., of Pottstown, Pa., as follows:

RESPONSE TO THE ADDRESS OF WELCOME.

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen: I wish, first of all, to express my great pleasure in responding to the cordial welcome that has been extended by your honorable representative to the Pennsylvania-German Society. The occasion is most auspicious. This is the "Fourteenth An-

nual Meeting of our Society—and commemorates the two hundred and twenty-first anniversary of the founding of Germantown and the beginning of German emigration to *North America*.” I assure you that our Society deems it a *privilege* as well as a pleasure to meet in your midst to-day. After having been the guests of the cities of Lancaster, York, Harrisburg, Lebanon, Reading, Allentown, Bethlehem, Easton and Norristown—those centres of the Pennsylvania-German element, we now come—as your guests—to old Germantown—our common Mecca, the Mother City of Pennsylvania Germandom. Did time permit—it would be pleasant to go back to the exodus of our German forefathers. An exodus is always interesting—and has been from the time our first parents left their Eden home; when Abram was called to forsake his country and his father’s house; the exodus of Israel from Egypt; how, all along the highway of history, the exodus has played an important and interesting part. How *impressively* the great migrations of nations in ancient and modern times have appealed to the imagination! What a deep interest they possess for the student and what rich material they furnish for history and poetry! That immortal work—Milton’s “Paradise Lost” was born of the first human exodus. It was an exodus which gave rise to Goethe’s beautiful idyll, “Herrman und Dorothea.” It was a similar expatriation that gave birth to Longfellow’s “Evangeline.” So the presence of the Germans in this country, but more especially in Pennsylvania, is due to an exodus. Between their advent and the present there lies a stretch of nearly two and a quarter centuries. What great events have taken place and what wonderful transformations have been wrought during all these years! But I must not digress.

We have come to share with you in the festivities of this glad anniversary which marks the beginning of German Emigration to this country. It is not our purpose to make this an occasion of self-glorification. It is not, nor has it ever been, our intention to detract from the merits or standing of any nationality that has contributed in making our Keystone State great as it is. But it has been, and still is, our humble endeavor to bear testimony to the integrity and worth of the Pennsylvania-Germans, and in a less step-motherly way than has been customary in the years gone by. There is not a nook or corner in all eastern Pennsylvania that is not hallowed by the memory of our German ancestors. But more especially is *this* historic spot—*Germantown*—richly freighted with sacred memories. What Athens was to Greece

“The eye of Greece
Mother of Arts and Eloquence.”

that Germantown has been, in a great measure, to our great Keystone State. Here lived and reigned the great scholar and school-master—the truly eminent as well as learned Francis Daniel Pastorius, and who was the first to raise the standard of education in our commonwealth. Here Zinzendorf delivered his first message. Here lived Schlatter, the missionary and ardent advocate of popular education. On this very spot where we are now assembled the great Washington bowed in prayer and worship—then a German Reformed Church.

Here the printing press was first set up. Here was printed the first Bible printed in America—*fifty years* before a Bible was printed by the descendants of the “Mayflower.” In those early days, in this community, there were Germans who could teach the languages, higher

mathematics, metaphysics, music and painting. In learning, as well as in public and private virtues, those early German pioneers were the peer of any other nationality. They were preeminently distinguished as artisans, farmers and mechanics. As an evidence of their thrift and enterprise, we recall that as early as 1760 the produce of eastern Pennsylvania was so great, that it required between eight and nine thousand wagons to haul their goods to Philadelphia to market.

Later on in their history, as we come to gather up the muster-rolls of the dark days of the Revolution, we find many German names,—patriots who contributed their full share in treasure and blood for their country. In the War of the Rebellion 80,000 Germans fought on the Union side. In every endeavor to promote thorough culture as well as the triumphs of a Christian civilization, the Germans have borne a conspicuous part. Let us keep alive in song and story their virtues, and transmit to posterity what is precious in their memories. We come to you to-day with a membership of 460, and with a literature of 13 volumes—printed in the best style of the printer's art. Our publications are eagerly sought after at home and abroad; and we have scarcely more than begun. Much rich material still waits to be gathered and treasured. We will continue making honest and earnest endeavors to pay the debt we owe to the memory of a people of humble but genuine worth, but who, through their characteristic modesty and reserve, have been suffered to pass unnoticed and unnoted. Again, let me assure you that your cordial welcome is fully appreciated and accepted with hearty thanks.

The annual address of the President, the Rev. John S. Stahr, D.D., LL.D., President of Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa., was then read.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

The history of the Pennsylvania-Germans presents many features of uncommon interest, and the interest grows in proportion as their history is better understood. The time has long since passed when men who could lay any claim to a thorough knowledge of the early history of Pennsylvania would allow themselves to look with any degree of pity or contempt upon these people as a whole; and the long array of names eminent in art, science, business, politics, education and religion is sufficient proof that they had among them an abundance of men who possessed a high order of intellectual ability and moral worth. And yet, it must be confessed, that going hand in hand with native ability and nobleness of character, there has been a lack of progressive energy such as might, if it had been present, have given the representatives of this race a position in the vanguard of our American civilization. Was this want of aggressiveness due to excessive modesty or to peculiar historical conditions? Perhaps to both; but the latter especially is a factor of great importance. I take it that it is the office of this Society to investigate the causes and conditions of the phenomena which our history presents, and at the same time to make room, by the deepening of the consciousness of our own worth and the removal of obstacles in our way, to reach a higher plane among the representatives of other nationalities in our composite general life.

In the development of a nation community life is of prime importance. Sir Henry Maine, in his well-known work on *Village Communities*, shows how, in the development of the Germanic nationality, land was held in tenure

by the whole community, and that this community, or commune, constituted the unit in the development of the national life. Our word "communism" is derived from *Commune*, and it implies the carrying to an extreme of a process which is of profound significance if properly apprehended. It is a mere truism to say that all human development is social, that no man left to himself could become a man in the full sense of the word. He is bound to his fellows and his progress depends upon his giving and receiving in his intercourse with others. Now, the association in which men stand in this way is not merely the association of individual with individual, nor is it the direct relation between one individual and the life of the state or nation at large. Men are bound together socially into communities, subject to the same conditions, animated by the same spirit, challenged by the same difficulties and inspired by a common hope. These communities, by their intercourse with each other, become conscious of the larger, fuller and freer life which animates the state or nation; and it is only through the consciousness of this freer relation that the normal development of individual and communal life is possible.

Three things, I take it, are essential to the healthy growth of a given people. First, native genius. Secondly, a proper environment, one which challenges the community's powers and brings life out of the narrow ruts of the commonplace upon the broader stage of human action, where the thrilling events of history take place. Thirdly, fidelity to the original type, the preservation of the life and genius of the particular community.

It goes without saying that nationalities and communities, like individual men, have their original gifts or their national genius. The Englishman, the Frenchman, the

Irishman, the Scotchman, the German, are all distinctively different. This difference depends not merely upon the environment. It is inherited. It migrates with the men and women of each race wherever they go, and is not without a moulding influence in their growth and mode of life under all the conditions to which they are subject. All the great nations of the world have become great because of this national capacity, the capital with which they started in the process of their development. In this respect the Pennsylvania-Germans occupy no mean place among the different nationalities which came to this country and by the admixture of their various types formed the American Nationality. In school and at college the Pennsylvania-Germans, whether upon their own heath or in the larger institutions of learning in this country, have always held their own. In mathematics, in the sciences, in English literature, they have shown themselves apt pupils; and although their life in many respects seems prosaic enough, they have shown themselves possessed at times of genuine poetic feeling, which crops out in the most unexpected places and blooms into prominence in the best representatives of the type.

National genius, however, requires a sphere in which it may manifest its powers; it needs stimulus from without in order to produce healthy, normal growth. This stimulus is found in the natural conditions by which it is surrounded. Man must earn his daily bread. He must fight against the forces of nature which make life difficult or threaten to overwhelm him. He obtains mastery over nature only by constant and skilful effort, so that the resources of the world in which he lives are made to minister continually to his well-being. But he needs, above all, the stimulus of contact with the world at large. The Greeks are

sometimes said to have developed their civilization from within—that it is spontaneous growth—autochthonous, resulting in the most beautiful culture the world has ever seen. But the torch of learning among the early Greeks was lighted by teachers who came from abroad, and the mythological narrative of the expedition of the Argonauts in search of the Golden Fleece is an allegorical representation of the fact that the stimulus for the internal growth of a nation is found in the reaching out of its life into the distant parts of the earth. The same fact is illustrated in the history of the Germanic nations. Vilmar, in his *History of German Literature*, shows how, after the conversion of the various German tribes to Christianity, they settled down peacefully to the enjoyment of the good which their religion brought them. But before they could attain to the production of a literature and a high development in the arts and sciences, a second step was necessary. They needed stimulus from without. This stimulus, he says, was furnished by the crusades, and the influence of contact with the East permeated life in Germany and in the other nations of the West, so that they brought forth the flower of poetry, of chivalry, of art and science, to the great advantage of all the nationalities that had part in the movement. This principle holds true all the world over. No nation, that does not come in contact with the life of other nations, can achieve true progress, and it applies equally to the life of communities and of individual men.

It is possible, however that contact with foreign elements may overcome the national spirit and the result may be the extinction of the true genius of a people and the substitution of elements which are foreign and ill adapted to the stock upon which it is proposed to graft them. This

point, also, is illustrated in the History of German Literature. There is no darker age anywhere than that before the so-called period of Storm and Stress, when French influence was paramount in the literature of Germany. German life and spirit sought in vain for expression until men like Herder, Lessing, Schiller and Goethe, who were genuinely German and true to their own type of life, gained ascendancy for the national spirit and ushered in a new day.

The Pennsylvania Germans, when they came to this country, settled in communities. They did not come singly into larger communities which swallowed them up so that they were immediately assimilated by the English element. They established their first community here at Germantown. The Mennonites did the same in Lancaster county. The Palatines in Bucks and Montgomery, in Lehigh and Berks, to say nothing of the distinctive settlements made by the Anabaptists at Ephrata, by the Moravians at Nazareth and Bethlehem and by the Schwenkfelders in Montgomery county. In these communities their own life was the prevailing feature. Here they made homes for themselves, found peace and rest, worshiped God in their own language, according to the dictates of their own conscience, and grew quietly until remote districts joined hands with each other so that they formed a belt across the state from northeast to southwest of which they had almost exclusive possession. Thrown together in this way and subject to a common environment, their life was more or less isolated. They were frugal and industrious, so that in course of time they became prosperous. They made the wilderness bloom like the rose. They enjoyed, in spite of their Indian foes around them, domestic peace and content. They cher-

ished their religion, they set up the printing press, they developed a literature, they cultivated a life and spirit peculiarly their own. There was, however, a want of intercourse with other communities so that they lived to some extent apart from the other settlers of the commonwealth. There was even a want of intercourse among themselves, as is evident from the fact that varieties of the dialect which they spoke have maintained themselves distinctively different even to the present day. The fact that they were to some extent different from the other nationalities breded distrust and suspicion. They became hostile to new ideas. Others who could not understand them misrepresented their character and disposition and thus the isolation became more pronounced.

The isolation which resulted in this way was not without certain advantages. It preserved intact their hereditary traits, love of liberty, simplicity and honesty, habits of industry, love of peace and domestic tranquillity. It made a steadfast population. The conditions under which they lived called for some variety of employment. The different trades flourished, certain lines of manufacture sprang up so as to meet the needs of the people, but there was no disposition to get away from their own environment. The population was largely rural, and the sons remained near the ancestral home, devoting themselves to agriculture and the peaceful pursuits which their ancestors had followed. For this reason portions of Pennsylvania settled by the Germans have always been the garden spots of our commonwealth. There are no abandoned farms; many homesteads have been generation after generation in the possession of the same families, a proof of the conservative spirit that predominated in the community. The condition of things was very much like that

which Schiller describes among the ancient Swiss, when Melchthal, outraged by the tyranny of the Austrian governors, says that he will appeal to the shepherds in the mountains under the free canopy of Heaven, where, as he says "Der Sinn noch frisch ist, und das Herz gesund"; and afterward, when he reports at the Rutli, he says:

"Entrüstet fand ich diese graden Seelen
Ob dem gewaltsam neuen Regiment;
Denn, so wie ihre Alpen fort und fort
Dieselben Kräuter nähren, ihre Brunnen
Gleichförmig fließen, Wolken selbst und Winde
Den gleichen Strich unwandelbar befolgen,
So hat die alte Sitte hier vom Ahn,
Zum Enkel unverändert fort bestanden
Nicht tragen sie verwegne Neuerung
Im altgewohnten gleichen Gang des Lebens."

But this comparative isolation also carried with it serious disadvantages. In the first place the German community lost many of its most enterprising men because, notwithstanding their conservatism, they sought wider fields in which to operate. They went into the large cities, or into territory where the Germans were not in the ascendency. They became English, and as the Germans failed to make provision for the literary and religious nurture of such, they went into other Churches and lost connection with the stock from which they had sprung. No doubt they carried with them their hereditary traits and other communities were benefited by their coming, but their going was a loss, nevertheless, to the German communities themselves. In addition to this, the want of contact with the larger life of a progressive community tended to produce a spirit of narrowness and bigotry, manifest particularly in some of the smaller religious bodies, who, vainly imagining that they alone possessed

the true Gospel of Christ, felt that they ought to keep aloof from the world. It is dangerous for any religious body to imagine that it alone is in possession of the truth, and that all others lie beyond the pale of the Christian Church; and the smaller the body, the greater the danger. There are in certain portions of Pennsylvania German people, good, faithful men and women who would consider it a sin to hear a sermon preached by a minister of another denomination and who refuse to read secular papers, and who, therefore, have but little knowledge of the world in which they live. It is easy to see that under these circumstances there can be no progressive unfolding of the life of a community.

It was but natural that men who fled from fierce religious persecution in their own country should prize the freedom which they found in the new land in which they had taken refuge, and that they should settle down in the peaceful enjoyment of their religion and their fire-sides. Others, religious enthusiasts, who sought solitude for its own sake, of course gave themselves up to contemplation and meditation apart from the busy world, for whose life they had no taste. We can understand how such men should pour out their feelings in the "Song of the Turtle Dove," and indulge in exalted, symbolical expressions to describe the feelings and longings which after all were indescribable. But all this put them in an abnormal relation to many public interests. They exerted little or no influence in politics in the earlier stages of their history, in fact they cared nothing for politics as long as their own freedom was not molested. They planted their school-houses beside the churches and endeavored to provide in this way for the education of their children; but when the means of education were inadequate and larger provision

was made by the commonwealth for the education of the citizens, they were not in a position to appreciate these schools and in fact, in many instances, looked with suspicion upon innovations which they might have turned to their advantage. Naturally this gave rise to misunderstanding. Strangers who did not understand their history or appreciate their life and spirit passed harsh judgment upon them, and thus isolation led to alienation, a condition that was unfortunate both for the Germans and for the commonwealth. In the larger fellowship of the Reformed and Lutheran Churches there was more room for an expansive, social life; but even in these communities they labored under great limitations. Whilst they were prosperous enough to live in comfort, they were far too poor so far as making provision for the larger things of life is concerned. There was, therefore, a woeful lack of ministers and of the means of education which tended to retard their progress.

It is well known that the English at first were afraid of the Germans, because they came in such large numbers and made a large part of the population. There was no disposition, therefore, to encourage them in taking part in public affairs. It was not until Benjamin Franklin felt that he needed them in the decision of burning questions, when the establishment of our constitutional government hung trembling in the balance, that they became a factor of importance in the political life of the state. That they possessed eminent capacity in this line, that they made not only good citizens but also good administrators, is proved by the line of German governors of the commonwealth, who were among the best and most capable that ever occupied the Executive chair. In fact we find on every hand, in every walk of life, by their success in the pulpit,

at the bar, in medicine, in business, that they possessed talents of a high order, capable of accomplishing brilliant results in the various walks of life.

At the present time no vindication of the name and character of these people is required. Their sons have risen to eminence and are living epistles known and read of all men. The part they have taken in the development of our commonwealth is before us. The share they have had in public life speaks for itself. We may say as Daniel Webster said on a momentous occasion of New England: "The past at least is secure."

It is important, however, to recognize the fact that the time for such limitations is past. This comparative isolation, which has been so great a drawback, should cease. So far as the Pennsylvania German dialect is concerned, its use should be limited. There is no reason why it should be perpetuated as a form of daily speech in business intercourse. It is essential that all the descendants of this race should acquire complete mastery of the English language, and put themselves in touch with the busy life of the world around them. The dialect henceforth should be considered rather an accomplishment than a form of daily speech. While it is no doubt obligatory upon the religious denominations representative of these people to make ample provision for those who need service in the German language, there is no reason why there should be any occasion for such service for the generations that are coming. The means of education, as plentiful at present, ought to bridge over the chasm, if there is one, that separates these people from the other citizens of the commonwealth.

This does not mean that the descendants of the Pennsylvania Germans should forget their ancestry. It is

above all important that they should venerate and preserve their native genius, for thus only can they be true to their own nature and attain to the full strength of vigorous manhood. There is perhaps no better illustration of the importance of remaining true and steadfast to native genius than that of the ancient Israelites. In the celebration of the Passover, when the family was gathered around the table, girded as for a journey, when they were about to eat the Pascal lamb it was incumbent upon the oldest son to ask: "What mean ye by this service?" Then the father of the house began to rehearse the history of the nation, how they were delivered out of the hands of the Egyptians by the mighty power of Jehovah, etc., and thus they were kept mindful of their religion, they preserved their sacred traditions and inculcated that splendid spirit of patriotism which has been the admiration of the world. And we, the descendants of the early German settlers, have reason to be proud of our lineage and past history. It is well for us to cherish the traditions of our fathers, in no narrow spirit, that we may be true to our genius and offer the most loyal service to the land in which we live.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

Following the President's address, the Secretary, H. M. M. Richards, made his annual report:

To the Officers and Members of the Pennsylvania-German Society.

GENTLEMEN: I take pleasure in reporting the continued prosperity of our Society. Our membership, to date, foots up the encouraging total of 456. The new members received during the past year number thirty.

Since our last meeting all, so entitled, have received copies of our published Volumes 12 and 13. I feel assured that no one will take issue with me when I say that they by no means lower the high standard of excellence heretofore attained. Through its unequalled series of papers bearing on "Pennsylvania, as developed under German influences," this Society has gained a deserved prominence of which each and all may well feel proud. Our labors in the future should be confined, even more closely, to the perfection and completion of this most valuable work, which, though nothing else be ever accomplished, will remain a perpetual monument to the glory of our race and to our own honor.

Our loss by death has been five. To our great sorrow, of these one was our very gifted and universally lamented late President, the Rev. Joseph A. Seiss, D.D., LL.D., L.H.D., while another, equally lamented, likewise gifted and always faithfully laborious, was the Hon. Lee L. Grumbine, a member of our Executive Committee from the organization of the Society, whose loss will be especially felt because, at the time of his decease, he had in preparation a most valuable paper on the Mennonites, which was to have been read at this meeting of the So-

cietty and would have appeared in the succeeding volume of Proceedings.

Respectfully submitted,

H. M. M. RICHARDS.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR FISCAL YEAR ENDING
OCTOBER 1, 1904.

Dr.

October 1, 1903, Cash Life Fund.....	\$ 250.00
October 1, 1903, Cash General Fund....	1,260.94
Dues received during year 1904.....	1,383.00
Dues received during year 1905.....	9.00
Books sold during year.....	445.00
Cash from Secretary.....	4.00

\$3,351.94

Cr.

By Vouchers as per book.....	\$1,898.50
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Cash in Bank	\$1,453.44
October 15, Dues paid on ac- count 1905 since balancing ac- count	\$ 342.00
October 22, since balancing ac- count	167.00
	<u>\$ 509.00</u>

Total balance in bank, October 24, 1904..\$1,962.44

JULIUS F. SACHSE,
Treasurer.

The above report was referred to an auditing committee, consisting of Abraham S. Schropp, Esq., George M. Jones, Esq., and the Rev. P. C. Croll, D.D., who subsequently reported that they had duly audited the accounts of the Treasurer and found them to be correct.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The election of officers for the ensuing year then took place, with the following result: President, Hon. James Addams Beaver, LL.D., of Bellefonte, Pa., late Governor of Pennsylvania, now Judge of the Superior Court; Vice-Presidents, Benj. M. Nead, Esq., of Harrisburg, Pa., and Ethan Allen Weaver, C.E., M.S., of Germantown, Pa.; Treasurer, Julius F. Sachse, Litt.D., of Philadelphia, Pa.; Executive Committee, W. K. T. Sahn, M.D., of Pittsburg, Pa., to fill vacancy caused by death of Hon. Lee L. Grumbine, Rev. L. Kryder Evans, D.D., of Pottstown, Pa., Dr. John Franklin Mentzer, of Ephrata, Pa.

The morning session was concluded by the reading of the regular historical papers, forming a part of the Society's "Pennsylvania, as developed under German Influences."

Following this meeting an excellent luncheon was most hospitably served in the ancient and historic Germantown Academy.

AFTERNOON.

The afternoon was most pleasantly and profitably spent in visiting the many places of great historic interest in and about Germantown, all of which were most kindly thrown open to the members of the Society and their lady friends. The trip was made in a number of large busses, all suitably decorated for the occasion. The places visited included the Toland House, Wagner House, Lower Burying Ground, "Coroy," "Grumblethorpe," Friends' Meeting House, "Green Tree Inn," the "Wyck" House, Mennonite Meeting House, Old Johnson House, Concord School House, home of the Site and Relic Society, Upper Burying Ground, "Upsala," "Cliveden," Dunker

Meeting House, St. Michael's Church-yard, where the bodies of the Wissahickon Monks are interred, the birth-place of David Rittenhouse, the astronomer, and the first paper mill in America.

EVENING.

Having once more gathered in the Market Square Presbyterian Church during the early evening, the Society was treated to a series of lantern slides illustrative of "Old Historic Germantown," with accompanying descriptive lecture, by Dr. Naaman H. Keyser, of Germantown.

After a brief reception, following the lecture, the annual banquet was held in the Germantown Academy, which proved to be of an exceptionally pleasant character, with an unusually large attendance.

The music, rendered by the Germantown Orchestra, Robert W. Staton, director, included among its excellent numbers, the following very interesting historical melodies which were brought to this country by the German Auxiliaries to the British army and played by them during their occupation of Germantown in the fall of 1777: (a) The Brandewine, (b) The Anspacher, (c) The Yager Horn, (d) The Donop.

The Hon. Thaddeus C. Vanderslice filled the office of toast-master most acceptably. The toasts for the evening, which were responded to with more than usual eloquence, were: "What the Pennsylvania-German Society has Accomplished," Rev. Theodore E. Schmauk, D.D.; "The Work of the Record Commission on the State Archives," Luther R. Kelker, Esq.; "The Site and Relic Society, of Germantown," Cornelius N. Weygandt, Esq.; "The Pennsylvania-German," Governor S. W. Pennypacker, LL.D.

OPENING REMARKS OF HON. THAD. L. VANDERSLICE,
TOASTMASTER.

Ladies and Gentlemen: For some mysterious reason I have been appointed toastmaster, and, as I recognize both the legal status and the competency of the committee who did this foolish thing, it is but for me to obey and to assume the duties of the office.

Now, a toastmaster is one clothed with great authority and great responsibilities. Like a taskmaster, it is for him to see that those who are detailed to do the work do it promptly and efficiently; and, like the bandmaster, he must catch the public fancy and see that the audience is pleased. Although thus clothed with responsibility and authority, he is an utterly irresponsible being in his office, amenable to no one for the truth of what he says, or what he does. He may give his fancy its wildest wing, and although not a poet he has a poet's license to say whatever fancy may dictate. Indeed, a properly constructed toastmaster is very much like a candidate for public office, —he may make any announcement, he may say something at variance with all experience and all statistics, but all that he has to do is to get his followers to follow him blindly. Now, I hope you will have such abiding faith in me to-night, that if I order any one to speak, you will help me to see to it that he speaks. It is within the toastmaster's authority to order both men and women to speak. Now, ladies, I can't tell what may happen, but as it is within the scope of authority I do assure you that if I call upon any of you to speak, speak you must. I now admonish you that if you speak too long it is my province to order you to stop; if you don't speak long enough, I may order you to continue. I want you to thoroughly understand, ladies and gentlemen, the authority

and vast responsibility of this office, which has been thrust upon me.

By way of preface, before calling upon others, who have thorough knowledge of the subject matter upon which they will address you, I feel that I should on behalf of the "Germantown Site and Relic Society" welcome to this banquet board all of the visitors who are within our gates. Ladies and gentlemen, I bid you welcome to the feast. Of course you do know that you are in modest Germantown. You who have observed and read do know that there are few places of more real historic interest, within the same square yards of area, than Germantown. Were it not for the modesty of the Germantown people, there would have been twenty shafts and monuments erected, in the various spots of rare historic interest, in this town. Why, think of it for a moment. What are our surroundings here? By way of illustration, where you were to-day at the general meeting is old Market Square. Reflect on that spot for a moment. Green's men had almost pierced that Market Square. When you see Wayne Avenue, Greene street and Washington Lane, you are reminded of, and see, in the mind's eye, that patriot army coming up over the hills, out of the White Marsh Valley, on that cold, misty, October morning. It takes but a little play of imagination to see Greene and his men marching down the Limekiln Pike and the old York Road; Wayne and Sullivan coming over Mt. Airy hill, at Allen's Lane. But for the unfortunate mishap of our right flank, between Wayne and Sullivan, Green's attack would probably have been successful and there would have been another story to tell of the result of the Battle of Germantown. That following winter of hunger and suffering at Valley Forge, might not have been

written in history. We ought to know more about Germantown, or the people outside of Germantown ought to know more about us than they do. Indeed, I fear that there are comparatively few people throughout the State who realize, and I doubt whether all of the people of Germantown realize that it was the original settlement of those sturdy Germans and Hollanders in 1683. While it may not be that all of you Germans, from other parts of the State, are descendants of the men who lived in and near Germantown, who were naturalized, while living here, the names are familiar to most of you, and as I said, while it may not be that you are all descendants of the men thus naturalized, the men who made this village, the men who had their own government, their own character, their own seal, you might well be proud to be so descended, because this was an exceptional body of men. Some of them, men of the highest literary attainment, linguists, artists, painters, teachers, millwrights, astronomers; men who gave blood and breath to a people that helped to make this State. Now, if not trespassing upon you, I will say one thing more. I ran over to-day the petition containing the list of the men who were naturalized in 1709, after a delay of some fifteen or twenty years; by postponing consideration of their petition. While I shall not read it all, for you can find it in Volume 2 of the Colonial Records, I will mention just a few of them. The names that we find here are familiar to us in this immediate vicinity, and throughout the States.

Pastorius, Kunders, Cunrades, Keyser, Streppers, Tunnis, Arrets, Dilbeck, Sellen, Simons, Jansen, Vanderwerf, Shoemaker, Van Bebber, Vandergach, Gattschik, Engell, Van der Sluys, Kleinhof, Bucholtz, Tuymen, Ruttinheyssen, Stalls, Hendricks, Kessleberry, Koster, Gorgaes, Bartells, Krey, Jansen, Scholl, Echle, Tysen.

And I may say in that connection, and perhaps most of you know it, that one portion of the present Montgomery county, a part of course of Philadelphia county, at one time, was settled by the people from Germantown. There was a migration from here in 1702; great numbers of those people settled in the uncleared forests in the valleys of the Skippack and Perkiomen,—but I had better be careful about what I say about the Valley of the Perkiomen—I leave that to abler and wiser heads. I know that there are men and women here from Allentown, Lancaster, Harrisburg, Lebanon, Easton and elsewhere and I expect that all of them are the great great grandsons or the great granddaughters of these great ancestors.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, this has been rather a rambling sort of talk, and I think I can do something much wiser than to continue upon a subject that I am not as familiar with as I should be; and especially should I cut my remarks short, when I remember whose presence I am in. I really had intended to make something of a speech, but circumstances have arisen since this dinner began, that have changed my purpose, I think I am wise if I stop right here. If, however my premises, or conclusions, my remarks, or rulings are questioned to-night, by any one high in official station, I may be driven to say more and to use the power of my office with some severity.



In Memoriam.

Henry Kuhl Nichols.

Henry Kuhl Nichols, late Chief Engineer of the Philadelphia and Reading Railway, died on November 22, 1904, in his apartments in the Aldine Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa., from Bright's disease.

He was born in Pottsville, Pa., on August 24, 1830, the son of Francis Boude Nichols (Nov. 5, 1793–June 30, 1847), son of William Nichols (Nov. 28, 1754–Oct. 19, 1804) and Margaret Hillegas (Nov. 21, 1760–July 10, 1808), dau. of Michael Hillegas, first Treasurer of the United States (Apr. 22, 1729–Sept. 29, 1804) and Henrietta Boude (Jan. 17, 1732–Jan. 25, 1792), son of Michael Hillegas (1696–Oct. 30, 1749), who emigrated to America, from Germany, about 1727.

Mr. Nichols served as a private in Company F, in the Second Regiment, Pennsylvania militia, in the Civil War.

He entered the railway service in August, 1847, and served as a rodman on the Mill Creek Railroad extension until June, 1848, when he became assistant engineer of construction on the same road.

In 1857 he became principal assistant engineer of the United States Government, constructing the Fort Kearney and Honey Lake wagon road and preliminary survey for a Pacific road to California. From 1861 to 1883 he acted as resident engineer of the lateral roads. In March, 1883 to 1885, he was chief roadmaster of the Philadelphia & Reading Road, 1885 to 1900 chief engineer and in 1900 he resigned to become consulting engineer, which office he held until his death.

He was a Free Mason, a member of Pulaski Lodge, 216, of Pottsville; Sons of the Revolution, Hibernian Society, Historical Society, Philadelphia and Rittenhouse Clubs. He served the Philadelphia & Reading Road for fifty-four years.

He is survived by one daughter, Clara, wife of Mr. Russell Evans Tucker. He became a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society on April 20, 1897.

H. M. M. R.

James Meily.

James Meily was born June 14th, 1853, at Jonestown, Lebanon County, Pa. He was son of John Meily, b. Sept. 9, 1826, d. April 3, 1902, and Helen L. Halter, b. 1834, d. 1873 (dau. Nicholas Halter and wife Catherine Flickinger), son of Martin Meily, b. Sept. 1801, d. Sept. 1883, son of John Meily, b. 1775, d. Sept. 1826, son of Henry Meily, b. 1747, d. ab. 1820. The family were among the early emigrants to this country from Switzerland.

His great-grandmother, wife of Henry Meily, was a member of the old Lebanon family of Overholzer. She was b. 1776, d. 1854.

His grandfather, Martin, was an excellent example of a self-reliant, self-made man. During his boyhood he was reared upon a farm, and learned the trade of a potter. After attaining manhood he served for ten years as Justice of the Peace and for three years as a Notary Public. Without the ordinary advantages of education he studied law, as related to titles, becoming so expert upon the subject as to be elected surveyor of Lebanon County, holding

that office most acceptably for a number of terms. In 1823 he married Magdalene Groh, b. 1798, dau. John Groh, of Bethel Township, Lebanon Co., Pa.

His father, John, was educated in the schools of Mechanicsburg, Pa. After serving for a short time in a clerical position, he engaged in the transportation business on the old Union Canal at Jonestown. Later, he was connected with a mercantile concern in Philadelphia, and, about 1860, engaged in the iron business, with Henry Meily, at Middletown, Pa. In partnership with Richard and Henry Meily, and Lyman Nutting, he built the Lebanon Valley Furnace, at Lebanon, Pa., which was successfully operated until his death in 1902.

After attending the public schools, James was admitted to Lafayette College, from which he graduated with honors. He accepted a position with A. Wilhelm, of Lebanon. A year later he decided to embark in business for himself, and became prominent in various iron and other manufacturing industries. He was a director in the Lebanon Valley Furnace Company, owning the Meily furnace in Lebanon and an interest in the ore mines at Cornwall; he was also a director in the Lebanon Mutual Fire Insurance Company; he was largely interested in the Stirling Boiler Works, of Barberton, Ohio, and had been the eastern representative of these establishments for many years.

His decease took place, suddenly, of heart failure, on April 20, 1905, at the Hotel Shelburne, Atlantic City, N. J. His residence of late was in Philadelphia.

Mr. Meily was elected to membership in the Pennsylvania-German Society on April 20, 1897, his death thus occurring on the eighth anniversary of his election.

H. M. M. R.



Franklin Dundore.

Franklin Dundore, of the firm of F. Dundore & Co., bankers and brokers, one of the oldest members of the Philadelphia Stock Exchange, died Sunday, November 27, 1904, at his home, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.

He was born on April 6, 1838, in Bern Township of Berks County, Pa., near Bern Church, the son of Gabriel Dundore (Dec. 20, 1799–May 29, 1853) and Lydia, born Dewees (Aug. 2, 1812–June 4, 1872), who was the son of John Jacob Dundore (Aug. 13, 1776–Oct. 23, 1861), who was the son of Jacob Dundore, b. July 25, 1720, a sergeant during the Revolutionary War, at Valley Forge. His ancestors emigrated to this country from Alsace-Lorraine, shortly after 1700.

In his early youth he was obliged to avail himself of the limited advantages of a country school at Bern church. Later he attended Rev. W. A. Good's academy in Reading. He graduated from the Iron City Commercial College, Pittsburg, in 1858. His first employment was an apprenticeship at tinsmithing, and in 1856–57 he was a dry goods clerk in Dyersville, Dubuque County, Iowa. After serving as cashier with J. L. Stichter and Bard & Reber, hardware merchants, Reading, in 1860 he took a position with Seyfert, McManus & Co., iron manufacturers, this city. In 1862 he became a partner in the firm of McHose, Eckert & Co., rolling mill operators. The mills were transferred to the West Reading Iron Company and Mr. Dundore acted as treasurer, resigning in

1865 to go into the iron commission business in Philadelphia. The panic of 1873 caused him to temporarily retire, and in 1877 he entered the business of banker and broker.

In the early 70's Mr. Dundore was a member of the Twelfth Sectional School Board, and in 1876 he was elected to Select Council from the Twelfth ward, Philadelphia, serving until 1880. While in councils he became a pioneer in the work of bettering the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, and many of the improvements are due to his efforts. In 1878 he was appointed by city councils to convey resolutions tendering the hospitalities of Philadelphia to U. S. Grant, who was then in Europe. He presented the resolutions to the ex-President in Paris, and was on the committee that received him when he visited Philadelphia in 1879.

Mr. Dundore was one of the original directors of the Sunbury & Lewistown Railroad and also one of the projectors of several railroad enterprises in Kansas which are now in successful operation. He was one of the originators of the Tradesmen's National Bank of Conshohocken. During the Civil War he served in the Twentieth Regiment, P. V. M. He was well known in Masonic circles, a member of Olympian Senate, No. 15, Order of Sparta, the Union League and the Pennsylvania-German Society, of which he became a member on April 11, 1894.

Until recently Mr. Dundore was identified with numerous enterprises, but he gave them up in order to devote his entire time to his business. His wife was a daughter of the late Charles Rick, of Reading. He is survived by three children—Charles Rick Dundore, Franklin Dundore, Jr., and Mrs. Ellen L. Dundore Sauveur.

Henry Edwin Slaymaker.

Henry Edwin Slaymaker was born October 26, 1828, at Margarett Furnace, Lower Windsor Township, York County, Pennsylvania. He was son of Stephen C. Slaymaker, b. Jan. 17, 1802, d. April 3, 1835, and Susan Reigart, b. April 4, 1804, d. May 7, 1886, son of Samuel Slaymaker, b. April 4, 1774, d. April 3, 1830, son of Henry Slaymaker, b. Aug., 1734, d. Sept. 25, 1785, son of Mathias Slaymaker (Schleiermacher), d. 1762, a native of Strasburg, Germany, who emigrated to this country about 1710. He and his family settled on a tract of about 1,000 acres known as the "London Lands," situated in Strasburg, now Paradise Township, which he purchased from a company called the "London Company."

Mr. Slaymaker was educated in the public schools of Lancaster County and a private school. He became the Auditor of Lancaster, and served as a School Director in that city for twenty-five years, also as a Jury Commissioner for three years. He was one of the earliest of the volunteer firemen of Lancaster and a member of the Union Fire Company for fifty-nine years. During the Civil War he served as Captain of Company B., 10th Regiment, Pennsylvania Militia, in 1862. Under President Cleveland he was appointed Postmaster of Lancaster, serving from 1885 to 1889.

He became a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society on April 15, 1891. His death occurred at Lancaster, Penna., on the night of September 1, 1905.

H. M. M. R.

Hiram Young.

Hiram Young was born May 14, 1830, at Sheaffers-town, Lebanon Co., Pa. He was the son of Samuel Young, who died when Hiram was but six years of age. On the maternal side, his grandfather was John F. Oberly; his great grandfather was Henry Sheaffer, a Captain in the Revolutionary War from 1776 to 1783; his great, great grandfather was Alexander Sheaffer, the founder of Sheafferstown. His ancestor came to America about 1730.

After attending the village school, at the age of fifteen he was sent to Lancaster to learn the saddlery business. Being of a studious disposition he spent his evenings in reading, and, in 1850, took a position in a book store. In a few years he gave up business entirely and devoted himself to the completion of his education, entering the Lancaster High School.

Abandoning his original intention of pursuing a university course, he accepted a position with the publishing house of Uriah Hunt & Sons, and later with Lippincott, Grambo & Co., in Philadelphia.

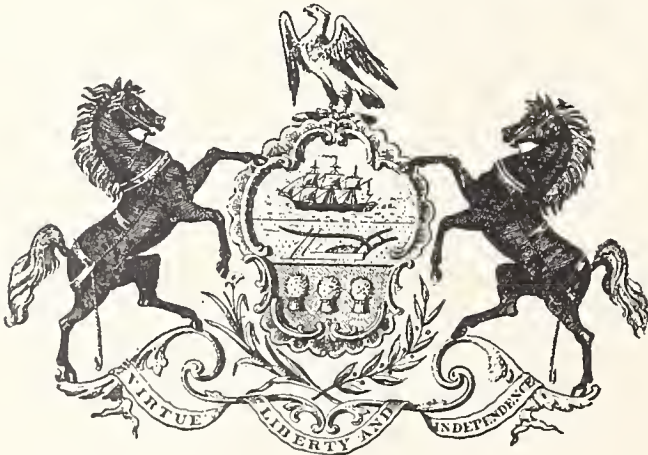
Returning to Lancaster within a few years, he opened a book store of his own and built up a highly successful business. In 1860 he removed to York, where he opened another store, and in 1864 he began publishing the *True Democrat*, of York, which later became *The Semi-Weekly Despatch and True Democrat*. In 1876 he started the *Evening Despatch*, now the *York Despatch*.

In the early days of his career Mr. Young was a Douglass Democrat. When the Civil War came he ardently supported the Government. In 1871 he led a movement, in which he had the support of a number of Democrats, against what was known as the "York County Court House Ring." In 1888 Mr. Young ran for Congress on the Republican ticket in a minority district, but was defeated.

Mr. Young was deeply interested in agriculture. He organized agricultural clubs and did all in his power to advance the interests of the farming community. He was at one time a member of the Farmers' Alliance, and in 1890 represented Pennsylvania at a national sheep and wool-growers' convention at Washington, D. C. In 1892 President Harrison appointed him postmaster at York.

He was one of the founders of the Pennsylvania-German Society. His death took place in York, Pa., at 3:45 on the afternoon of July 13th, 1905. He is survived by his wife and four sons.

H. M. M. R.



Christian P. Humrich.

Christian P. Humrich, of Carlisle, Pa., a noted local historian and most highly esteemed citizen, died, of pleuropneumonia, on January 5, 1906, at the age of seventy-four years.

He graduated from Dickinson College in June, 1852, and, two years later, was admitted to the Cumberland County Bar, where he continued the practice of law, being, at the time of his decease, the oldest member of the bar and president of the Bar Association.

For forty years he served as school director of Carlisle, thirty-seven years of which he was secretary. He was also president of the board of trustees of the Good Will Hose Company, and secretary of the Hamilton Library Association, a historical organization of Carlisle.

Mr. Humrich was a consistent member of the First Lutheran Church, and is survived by these children: Charles F., Ellen, Blanche, Mary, Mrs. Jacob Humer and Christian, Jr., all of Carlisle.

He became a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society at its organization.

H. M. M. R.

Freeland Gotwalts Hobson.

Freeland Gotwalts Hobson was born Oct. 13, 1857, at Collegeville, Montgomery County, Pa. He was a son of Frank M. Hobson, b. Jan. 22, 1830, son of Mary Matilda Bringhurst, b. Nov. 21, 1801, d. June 12, 1834, m. Francis Hobson, dau. of Israel Bringhurst, b. Feb. 28, 1770, d. Dec. 27, 1811, m. Mary Lewis, son of William Bringhurst, b. June 24, 1745, d. Oct. 16, 1798, m. Mary Norris, son of George Bringhurst, b. May 15, 1697, d. Feb. 18, 1752, son of John Bringhurst, m. Rosina Prache. His mother was Anna Elizabeth Gotwalts, d. Aug. 9, 1902, dau. of Jacob Gotwalts, b. Mar. 15, 1798, d. Jan. 29, 1851, m. Esther Vanderslice, son of Elizabeth Funk, m. Henry Gotwalts, dau. of Barbara Cassel, d. Dec. 29, 1792, m. Rev. Christian Funk, dau. of Julius (Yelles) Cassel, d. 1750, who came to America Oct. 16, 1727, from Krieshein, Germany, on the ship "Friendship."

Among his other descendants from Germany were Isaac Van Sintern, b. Sept. 4, 1660, d. Aug. 23, 1737, who came to America in 1687; Dillman Kolb, b. 1648, at Wolfshein, d. 1712, at Manheim, Penna.; Hendrick Pannebecker, b. Mar. 31, 1764, at Flombon, d. Apr. 4, 1754; Christian Moyer, d. 1751, who came to America prior to 1719. He was also descended from the Hunsicker and Vanderslice families.

Mr. Hobson was treasurer and trust officer of the Norristown Trust Company, which he organized in 1888. He was president of Group 2 of the State Bankers' Associa-

tion, a trustee of Ursinus College and a director in a number of local business concerns. He was a member of the Trinity Reformed Church, Collegeville, and served as an elder for twelve years. He was also a prominent member of the Patriotic Order of Sons of America, Camp No. 267, at Trowbridge, and, in August, 1893, was elected State president of the Order. In addition, he was a member of the Valley Forge Memorial Association, and, for twenty years, was treasurer and chairman of the executive committee. While a Republican in politics, and an earnest supporter of the principles of the party, he never sought political preferment.

He was one of the leading members of the Montgomery County Bar. His decease occurred on January 11, 1906, at his home in Collegeville, Pa., as the result of an attack of pneumonia. He is survived by a wife, who was a daughter of the late Rev. Joseph H. Hendricks, and three children.

Mr. Hobson became a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society on October 2, 1902.

H. M. M. R.

Rev. David McConaughy Gilbert, D.D.

The Rev. David McConaughy Gilbert, D.D., was born February 4, 1836, in Gettysburg, Pa. He was the son of David Gilbert, M.D., b. July 27, 1803, d. July 28, 1868, eminent in the medical and surgical world, being for years a professor of medicine in the Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg; son of George Gilbert, b. Nov. 13, 1781, d. Dec. 17, 1809; son of George Gilbert, b. 1754, d. Apr. 11, 1805; son of Bernhard Gilbert, b., in Germany, 1724, d. Feb. 28, 1802.

Dr. Gilbert graduated from the Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg in 1857, and from its Theological Seminary in 1859. In October of that year he was licensed to preach the Gospel, and a short time later, in 1860, he was ordained a minister of the Evangelical Lutheran Church by the Synod of Virginia, and given the pastorate of the Central Evangelical Lutheran Church at Staunton, Virginia, in December, 1859, where he remained until 1863.

He was subsequently pastor of the Church of the Ascension at Savannah, Georgia, but later returned to his former call at Staunton. A call from Grace Church, at Winchester, Virginia, in 1873, was accepted, and he was filling that charge in 1887, when Zion Lutheran Church, of Harrisburg, called him to succeed Rev. Dr. Albert H. Studebaker, who accepted a call in Baltimore.

Harrisburg has been Dr. Gilbert's home ever since, and here he labored and did noble work in the cause of religion, with the love of his congregation and the respect of Harrisburg citizens in general.

High in the councils of his church, Dr. Gilbert, at the Triennial meeting of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, held in Pittsburg last July, made a report on "The State of the Church." He was a member of the Dauphin County Historical Society, and took an active part in civic affairs, always lending by his good work and word encouragement to any cause that was for the betterment of his fellow-man.

Dr. Gilbert was married in New Orleans in 1866, to Miss Mary Rutledge Falligant, of Savannah, Georgia, who survives him with the following children: John G., William Kent, Frederick M., David McC., Jr., Marion, Henry D., Mrs. Katherine Rutherford, wife of Robert M. Rutherford, of Steelton, and Miss Jane Gilbert.

Of his excellence and worth the Harrisburg papers have commented in the following editorial:

"Although he had held that high place for eighteen years, Rev. Dr. D. M. Gilbert, whose death is recorded this morning, was much more to Harrisburg than the beloved pastor of its oldest Lutheran church, which has been truthfully styled the parent of all the other churches of that denomination in this city.

"During all the years of his pastorate here, in every religious and philanthropic movement, in every enterprise for the advancement of the best interests of the city and its people, Dr. Gilbert was a conspicuous and influential figure, and his death will be deeply mourned by those of every creed and color.

"In his own church he was like a father to his people and over them, especially the young of his flock, his beneficent influence was almost boundless. Terrorism was no part of his equipment. He ruled by persuasion, inspired

by love and illuminated by a bright and sunny humor, altogether delightful.

"After his fine scholarship, his broad humanity and his humble piety, his most striking characteristics were his keen, discriminating judgment and his all-embracing charity. His intimate friends were accustomed to say of him that in all his years here he never made an indiscreet utterance nor did an unwise act.


"It was characteristic of him to travel many miles in the worst weather and over execrable roads, to comfort, to succor and to bring back home, some poor wanderer who had strayed as far from the right as from his friends.

"He hated sin, but had boundless pity for the sinner. His charity was like that exemplified by the meek and lowly Nazarene when He said to those who would kill the poor erring woman 'Let him that is without sin among you first cast a stone at her.' His was the charity that Paul wrote of to the Corinthians—the charity that suffereth long and is kind, that vaunteth not itself, that is not puffed up, that is not easily provoked, that thinketh no evil, that rejoiceth in the truth, that beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.

"When such a man dies it is a public bereavement, but his memory and his example endure and shall remain an inspiration and a benediction.

His decease occurred on the morning of October 16, 1905. He became a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society on January 15, 1897.

H. M. M. R.



George Benson Dunmire, M.D.

Dr. George Benson Dunmire was born May 2, 1837, at McVeytown, Mifflin County, Pa. He was son of Gabriel Dunmire, b. Sept., 1809, who was son of Henry Dormeyer (b. 1768, d. Sept. 19, 1844), and Catharine Geyer (dau. George Geyer), who was son of Jacob Dormeyer, who was son of Jacob Dormeyer. The family came from the Palatinate of Germany, arriving at Philadelphia in 1749 and settling in Lancaster County.

During the Civil War he enlisted in the 125th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, in 1862, and served with it for nine months. Subsequently, he received a commission as First Lieutenant of the 46th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers. At the close of the war he studied medicine, and was graduated from Jefferson Medical College in the class of 1865. He practiced medicine in Philadelphia until his decease on November 2, 1905.

For many years Dr. Dunmire was Treasurer of the Medical Society of the State of Pennsylvania. In addition, he was a member of the Philadelphia County Medical Society, the Pathological Society, the Obstetrical Society of Philadelphia, and the American Medical Association.

He was elected to membership in the Pennsylvania-German Society on January 15, 1897.

H. M. M. R.

Daniel Rhine Hertz, D.D.S.

Daniel Rhine Hertz was born May 19, 1837, in what was then the parsonage of the old Bethany Reformed Church, at Ephrata, Pa. He was the son of the Rev. Daniel Hertz, b. Apr. 23, 1796, d. Sept. 22, 1868, then pastor of said congregation, who was son of Ludwig Hertz, b. Apr. 15, 1759, d. Mar. 28, 1821, son of Rosanna Hertz, b. Jan. 9, 1762, d. Mar. 1, 1814. His mother was Maria A. Hoover, b. July 14, 1804, d. Dec. 24, 1845, dau. of Christian Hoover.

The young man was educated in the common schools of his native township, Prof. Beck's school at Lititz, and at the Millersville Normal School. After teaching a public school in East Lampeter township for two sessions, he entered the office of Dr. Moore, at New Holland, and took up the study of dentistry, and later entered the Pennsylvania Dental College at Philadelphia, from which institution he graduated with honors. He successfully followed this profession for a period of over forty years, being recognized as one of the leading dental practitioners of the North End.

He was a life-long and very active member of the Bethany Reformed congregation at Ephrata, having served as an elder of the church for many years. He had always been prominent in all measures tending to advance the interests of Bethany congregation. His hospitable house was generally the home of the non-resident visiting ministers of the church. He also took a very active interest in

Sunday School work. He was one of the organizers of the old Union Sunday School at Ephrata, and served for many years as its superintendent.

He was an active and very prominent member of Lodge No. 43, F. and A. M. of Lancaster, having joined the organization in 1869, and having attained very high honor. He was a member of Royal Arch Chapter, No. 43, and Goodwin Council, No. 19, Royal and Select Masons; Lancaster Commandery, No. 13, Knights Templar. He was also an active member of Washington Camp, No. 227, P. O. S. of A., of Ephrata, being a Past President of that order. He was for many years a member of the A. O. U. W., of Philadelphia. He was one of the reorganizers of the Ephrata Monument Association, which organization was instrumental in having the splendid soldiers' monument erected on Zion's Hill, near Ephrata. He was a member of the Harris Dental Association of Lancaster. He assisted in the organization of the Ephrata Borough Board of Health in 1893, and was its first president. He served on the Board until 1901, when he resigned.

Dr. Hertz is survived by his wife, *nee* Lizzie Hibshman, and one son, Dr. J. D. Hertz, of Stamford, Conn., and one daughter, Miss Lena M., residing at home. Dr. S. G. Hertz and Dr. E. A. Hertz, both of Philadelphia, are surviving brothers of the deceased.

His decease took place at 8.45 P. M. on Sunday, October 1, 1905, after an illness of some six months.

He was elected to membership in the Pennsylvania-German Society on April 13, 1899.

H. M. M. R.



Hon. John H. Weiss.

“John H. Weiss, the sixteenth President Judge of the Courts of Dauphin County, died at his home, in Harrisburg, on the morning of the 22d day of November, 1905, in the sixty-fifth year of his age.

“He was the eldest son of John and Martha Weiss, and was born near Schaefferstown, in Lebanon County, on the 23d day of February, 1840. His early years were passed in labor upon the farm where his parents lived, and in attendance upon the common schools in its neighborhood, where his education began. He continued his studies in the Millersville State Normal School, and completed them, in 1863, as a graduate of Jefferson, now Washington and Jefferson College. His faithfulness to duty was early attested by the distinction he gained as a scholar in those institutions of learning.

“He commenced the study of law in 1863, in the office of Hon. David Mumma, of Harrisburg, Pa., and pursued it with such diligence, understanding and devotion that, when he was admitted, on fifth December, 1865, as an attorney-at-law of the Dauphin County Court, he had already given full assurance of his early usefulness and eminence at this bar. His success in his profession was immediate, and he quickly gained a numerous and important clientage, which he steadily enlarged and maintained until he passed from the labors of a lawyer to those of a judge. His conduct as a lawyer commanded and rewarded the long trust the public placed in him. In all his pro-

fessional work he was ideally faithful to the welfare of all his clients, shrinking from no study, however severe, and declining no labor, however arduous, which could promote or safeguard their interests. He was preëminently a safe counselor, and his advice was much desired, by reason of its rare sense and wisdom. He did not delight in speech to juries, preferring to avoid it; but, to an extent that he never would admit, he had, and when required he used, the gift of clear statement and sensible presentation of the causes of his clients, which profoundly influenced the jurors who listened to him.

“Amid all his professional cares, he did not neglect his duty as a citizen. For many years he was a leader in the politics of his city and county, and a trusted adviser in those of the State. He was a man of large public spirit, of sincere interest in the welfare of his fellow-men, and of much service, in useful and disinterested ways, to his city and its people. His friendships were many and true, marked on his part by manifold acts of endearing tenderness, and ended only by death.

“The charm of scholarship and the grace of culture adorned him, and until the end of his days he delighted in literature, in painting, and in all the arts which refine life and console the spirit. He was an attendant of the Presbyterian Church, and had an unshaken belief in the truths of religion as revealed in the Holy Scriptures. He was a devoted son and brother, and his home was blessed by his love for his wife and children, and by their love for him. His nature was social, his hospitality generous, and his kindness of heart and its many manifestations, associated, as they were, with knowledge and humor, made his society a pleasure to his fellow-men. His many excellences of mind and character, of temperament and manner, were

so plain to the public view that when Judge McPherson resigned his office of Additional Law Judge of this district to accept the office of District Judge of the United States, Judge Weiss was, on March 14, 1899, appointed his successor, in answer to the unanimous request of the members of this bar, and he was chosen by the people of this district, without division of party, at the November election of 1899, to be his own successor for the full judicial term of ten years.

"He continued to serve as Additional Law Judge until the death of Judge Simonton cast upon him the office of President Judge of these courts. His years of judicial service were less than seven in number. But brief as that service was, it was long enough to prove, by many tests, that Judge Weiss had maintained unimpaired the high renown of the Bench of Dauphin County for ability, for learning, for justice, for honor, and for humanity, and to make his death a loss to the administration of the law, and a personal sorrow to every member of this bar."

"Judge Weiss was a member of Common Council in 1877 and at his death one of the Public Library trustees.

"He was married in June, 1870, to Mary Virginia Fox, daughter of John E. Fox, a prominent Philadelphia banker and broker, who survives him with three children, District Attorney John Fox Weiss, Miss Caroline and Miss Marion Weiss. A son, Frank, died a few years ago in his early youth, and two daughters, Mary Virginia and Elizabeth Boggs, died in infancy."

Judge Weiss was elected to membership in the Pennsylvania-German Society on October 24, 1901.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



"ON THE WAR PATH."

Pennsylvania:

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE IN ITS SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT.

A Narrative and Critical History.

PREPARED BY AUTHORITY OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.

PART XV.

*THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN
IN THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR*



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

Publication Committee.

JULIUS F. SACHSE, LITT.D.

DANIEL W. NEAD, M.D.

HENRY M. M. RICHARDS.

The
Pennsylvania-German
in the
French and Indian War

A HISTORICAL SKETCH

PART XV. OF A NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY

PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

BY

HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG RICHARDS

LATE UNITED STATES NAVY

Secretary Pennsylvania-German Society, Member Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, National Geographic Society, Etc., Etc.—Sons of the Revolution, Naval Order of the United States, Military Order of Foreign Wars of the United States, Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-American War, Grand Army of the Republic, American Academy of Political and Social Science, Etc., Etc.



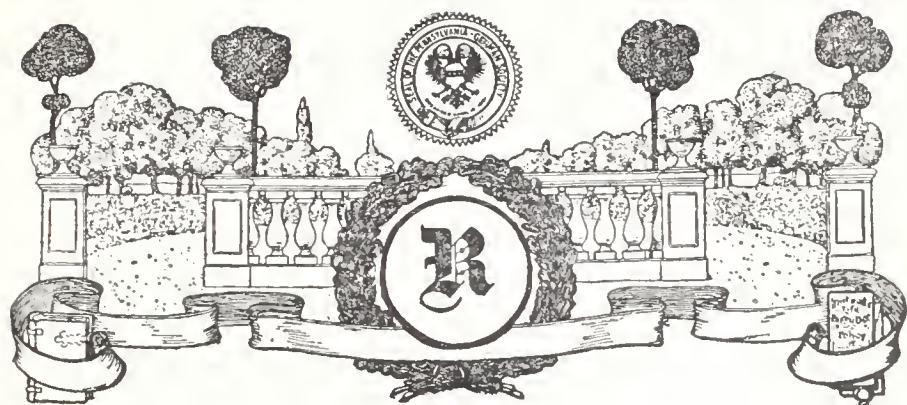
LANCASTER, PA.

1905

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PREFATORY NOTE.



THE history of the Pennsylvania-Germans in the French and Indian War is necessarily, to a large extent, that of compilation. In all such cases my research, wherever practicable, has extended back to original sources. The *Pennsylvania Archives* have been carefully

sifted and culled; newspapers of the period have been treated in the same manner. In the use of all other references no data has been accepted unless its authenticity was of such character that it could be hardly questioned.

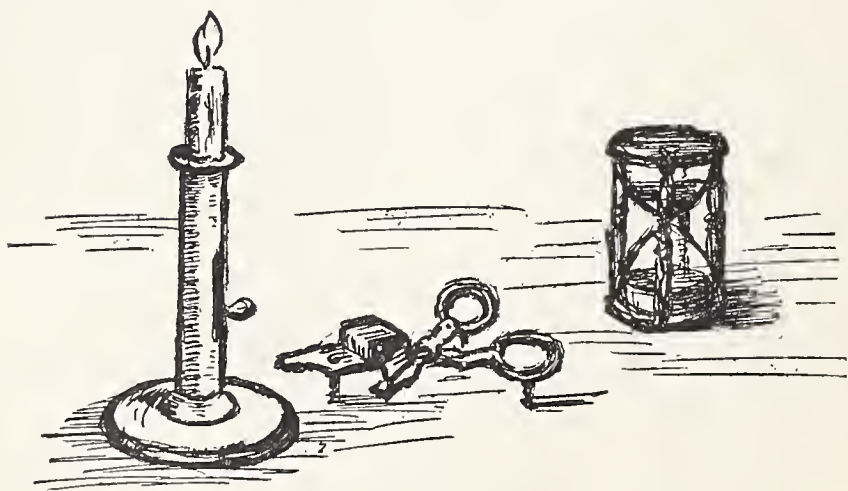
Much also of what has been written is the result of painstaking and laborious original research. Except as mentioned in my report to the State Legislature, as a member of its Commission on the "Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania, prior to 1783," it has never been presented to the public before.

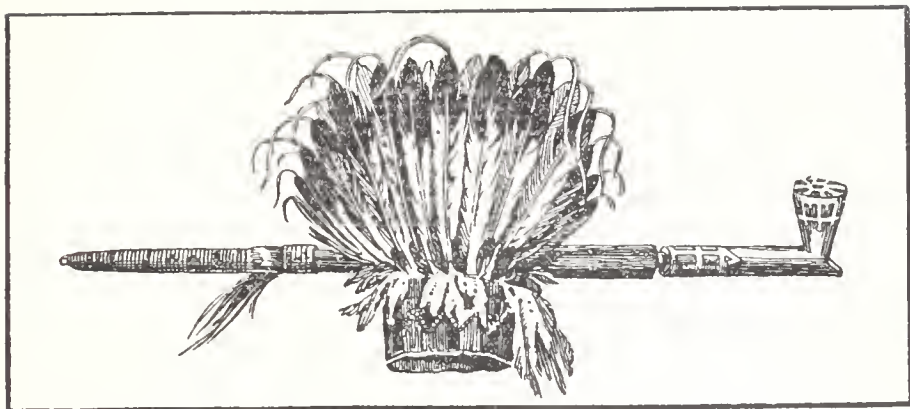
Very naturally I am under obligations to many friends who have rendered me great assistance, as well as to other friends from whose writings I have not hesitated to bor-

row when necessary. I again thank them all without attempting to enumerate their many names, as I have already discharged this obligation in my work on "The Frontier Forts."

I would be failing in duty, however, and lacking in courtesy, were I to neglect, at this time, to make due and full acknowledgment to Julius F. Sachse, Litt.D., of Philadelphia, for his valuable aid in the production of the excellent illustrations which add so much beauty to this work and give it so much additional interest.

H. M. M. RICHARDS.





CHAPTER I.

THE ABORIGINE.



SUCCESS or failure in the French and Indian War rested so largely, if not entirely, upon the aborigine, that a thorough understanding of its cause and operations would not be complete without some knowledge of the Indian tribes represented.

The operations of the war were confined especially, outside of Canada, to the Provinces of New York and Pennsylvania, the home of the great tribes familiarly known as the Six Nations and the Delawares.

Their history is more or less shrouded in mystery, but, thanks to the labors of the Moravian, as well as the Jesuit, missionaries, many of their traditions have been preserved, from which we have been able to glean what has now become the most generally accepted belief in the origin and progress of the race on this continent.

The great western hemisphere was probably first peopled from two sources. With the dispersion of the na-

tions at the Tower of Babel came an exodus on widely divergent lines. Some wandered to Africa, others to Europe, others, still, turned their faces to the east. Of these, certain families occupied our present Siberia, and, in time, from the hardship of their lives, became more or less degenerate; other tribes drifted to the more favorable clime of Japan and the south, where they became increasingly civilized and refined. In the course of centuries some hapless seafaring members of the latter chanced to find their way, doubtless by force of unfortunate circumstances, across the ocean to Mexico and Peru, whence originated the civilization which surprised the followers of Cortez and Pizarro. With these our account has nothing further to do. Just as those of the south, however, were drawn, as though by a magnet, to the shores of the New World, so the savage of Siberia gradually found his way across the narrow Behring Strait, down the coast to a land of daily sunshine and warmth, thence slowly across the wide continent which lay before him until, finally, another ocean was reached, where he took possession, and, amongst the meadows and forests, brooks and rivers of Pennsylvania and New York, made his rude home.

All Indian tradition concurs in the belief that the ancestors of their people came from the west.

The Lenni Lenape (or the original people), as they called themselves, later better known as the Delawares, from the name of the river which eventually became their location, were, in the distant past, a mighty nation, which nearly forty tribes, according to Heckewelder, acknowledged as their "grandfathers," or parent stock. As they migrated to the east in time they met the Mengwe (Iroquois) on the banks of the Mississippi, who had reached it somewhat nearer its source. The Lenape, having

thrown out their scouts, discovered that the land to the east of the mighty river was inhabited by a powerful tribe, dwelling in large towns erected along the principal rivers, whose people were of gigantic stature. They bore the name of Allegewi, whence the name of Allegheny, by which the river and mountains of their country are now known. Their towns were defended by regular fortifications or intrenchments, of earth, vestiges of which still remain in a more or less complete state of preservation. A request having been made to them by the Lenape, for permission to locate in their vicinity, it was refused, but they were told that they might cross the river and pass through their country to a land further east. This the Lenape proceeded to do, but, alarmed by the multitudes which they saw marching before their eyes, the Allegewi treacherously turned upon and massacred many of those who had gained the eastern shore of the Mississippi. Fired by a spirit of revenge the Lenape eagerly accepted a proposition made them by the Mengwe to join forces, conquer and divide the country of their adversaries. A war of many years was begun, marked by great havoc and devastation, but resulting in the expulsion of the Allegewi, who fled by way of the Mississippi, never to return. Their ravaged country was apportioned among the conquering allies, the Iroquois choosing their homes in the neighborhood of the great lakes, and the Lenape selecting the lands further south.

During the many years of peace which followed, the enterprising hunters of the Lenape crossed the Allegheny mountains and discovered the great rivers Susquehanna and Delaware. They even explored the *Sheyichbi* country (New Jersey) and reached the Hudson, to which they subsequently gave the name *Mohicannittuck* river. Re-

turning with the glowing accounts of the beautiful country they had seen, its forests, game and waters, the tribe unanimously decided that this was the land which the Great Spirit had set apart for them, and at once proceeded to establish themselves on the banks of the principal rivers of the east, making the Delaware, to which they gave the of *Lenape-Wihittuck* (the river of the Lenape) the centre of their possessions.

It is probable that the Delaware, of whom we have just spoken, were but a part of the great Lenni-Lenape tribe. It is said that a portion remained behind along the Mississippi to aid their people who, frightened at the reception given them by the Allegewi, had fled to the west. Of these the smaller part stayed by the river while the remainder continued to reside beyond it.

Those on the Atlantic coast became subdivided into three tribes—the Turtle or *Unamis*, the Turkey or *Unalachtgo*, and the Wolf or *Minsi*. The two former inhabited the coast from the Hudson to the Potomac, settling in small bodies in towns and villages upon the larger streams, under chiefs subordinate to the great council of the nation. The Minsi, called by the English “Monseys,” the most warlike of the three tribes, dwelt in the interior, forming a barrier between their nation and the Mengwe. They extended themselves from the Minisink, on the Delaware, where they held their council seat, to the Hudson on the east, to the Susquehanna on the southwest, to the head waters of the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers on the north, and to that range of hills now known in New Jersey by the name of the Muskenecum, and by those of Lehigh and Conewago in Pennsylvania.

In the year 1698 some Shawanese applied to the proprietary government for permission to settle on the Con-

estoga and Pequea creeks, under Opessah, their principal chief, which was granted. The most restless of all the Indian tribes, by 1728 many of these had wandered as far west as the Ohio, where in time the entire nation settled on the banks of that river. During the French and Indian War, however, many of their fighting braves still remained east and joined with the Delawares in their marauding forages on the hapless settlers.

The Mengwe, meanwhile, hovered for some time on the borders of the lakes, with their canoes in readiness to fly should the Allegewi return. Grown bolder with increasing numbers they stretched themselves along the St. Lawrence, and became, on the north, near neighbors to the Lenape tribes.

In process of time the Mengwe and the Lenape became enemies. The latter represent the former as treacherous and cruel, pursuing pertinaciously an insidious and destructive policy toward their more generous neighbors. Dreading the power of the Lenape, the Mengwe resolved to involve them in war with their distant tribes, to reduce their strength. They committed murders upon the members of one tribe, and induced the injured party to believe they were perpetrated by another. They stole into the country of the Delawares, surprised them in their hunting parties, slaughtered the hunters and escaped with the plunder.

Each nation, or tribe, had a particular mark upon its war clubs, which, left beside a murdered person, denoted the aggressor. The record which now follows is in accordance with the Delaware traditions, as related to the Moravian missionaries. I take the liberty of giving it in the words of the late Dr. W. H. Egle. These traditions were to the effect that the Mengwe perpetrated a murder

in the Cherokee country, and left with the dead body a war club bearing the insignia of the Lenape. The Cherokees, in revenge, fell suddenly upon the latter and commenced a long and bloody war. The treachery of the Mengwe being at length discovered, the Delawares turned upon them with the determination of utterly exterminating them. They were the more strongly induced to take this resolution, as the cannibal propensities of the Mengwe, according to Heckewelder, had reduced them, in the estimation of the Delawares, below the rank of human beings.

Hitherto each tribe of the Mengwe had acted under the direction of its particular chief, and, although the nation could not control the conduct of its members, it was made responsible for their outrages. Pressed by the Lenape, they resolved to form a confederation which might enable them better to concentrate their force in war, and to regulate their affairs in peace. Thannawage, an aged Mohawk, was the projector of this alliance. Under his auspices, five nations, the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagoes, Cayugas and Senecas, formed a species of republic, governed by the united councils of their aged and experienced chiefs. To these a sixth nation, the Tuscaroras, was added in 1712. This last originally dwelt in the western parts of North Carolina, but, having formed a deep and general conspiracy to exterminate the whites, were driven from their country and adopted by the Iroquois confederacy. The beneficial effects of this system early displayed themselves. The Lenape were checked, and the Mengwe, whose warlike disposition soon familiarized them with the use of fire arms procured from the Dutch, were enabled at the same time to contend with them and to resist the French, who now attempted the settlement of Canada and the extension of their conquests over a large

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



INTERIOR OF TEEPEE OF A MANDAN CHIEF.

portion of the country between the Atlantic and the Mississippi.

Hard pressed by these new enemies, the Iroquois became desirous of reconciliation with their old ones, and, if the tradition of the Delawares be credited, they effected one of the most extraordinary strokes of policy which history has recorded.

The mediators between the Indian nations at war are the women. The men, however weary of contest, hold it cowardly and disgraceful to seek reconciliation. They deem it inconsistent in a warrior to speak of peace with bloody weapons in his hands. He must maintain a determined courage, and appear at all times as ready and willing to fight as at the commencement of hostilities. With such dispositions Indian wars would be interminable if the women did not interfere and persuade the combatants to bury the hatchet and make peace with each other. On these occasions the women pleaded their cause with much eloquence. "Not a warrior," they would say, "but laments the loss of a son, a brother, or a friend, and mothers who have borne, with cheerfulness, the pangs of childbirth, and the anxieties that wait upon the infancy and adolescence of their sons, behold their promised blessings crushed in the field of battle, or perishing at the stake in unutterable torments. In the depth of their grief they curse their wretched existence and shudder at the idea of bearing children." They conjured their warriors, therefore, by their suffering wives, their helpless children, their homes, and their friends, to interchange forgiveness, to cast away their arms, and, smoking together the pipe of amity and peace, to embrace as friends those whom they had learned to esteem as enemies.

Prayers thus urged seldom failed of their desired effect.

The function of the peacemaker was honorable and dignified, and its assumption by a courageous and powerful nation could not be inglorious. This station the Mengwe urged upon the Lenape. "They had reflected," they said, "upon the state of the Indian race, and were convinced that no means remained to preserve it unless some magnanimous nation would assume the character of the *woman*. It could not be given to a weak and contemptible tribe; such would not be listened to; but the Lenape, and their allies, would at once possess influence and command respect."

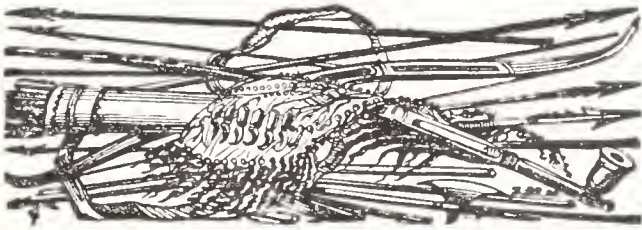
The facts upon which these arguments were founded were known to the Delawares, and, in a moment of blind confidence in the sincerity of the Iroquois, they acceded to the proposition and assumed the petticoat. The ceremony of the metamorphosis was performed, with great rejoicings, at Albany, in 1617, in the presence of the Dutch, whom the Lenape charged with having conspired with the Mengwe for their destruction.

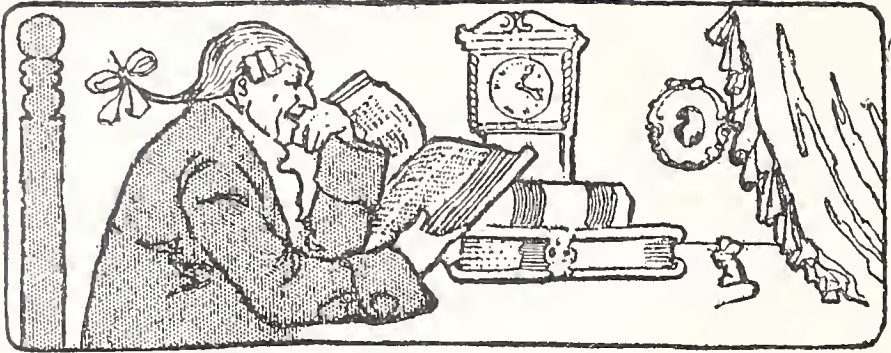
Having thus disarmed the Delawares, the Iroquois assumed over them the rights of protection and command. Still dreading their strength, however, they artfully involved them again in war with the Cherokees, promised to fight their battles, led them into an ambush of their foes, and deserted them. The Delawares, at length, comprehended the treachery of their arch enemy, and resolved to resume their arms, and, being still superior in numbers, to crush them, but it was too late. The Europeans were now making their way into the country in every direction, and gave ample employment to the astonished Lenape.

The Mengwe denied these machinations. They averred that they conquered the Delawares by force of arms, and made them a subject people. And, though it was

said they were unable to detail the circumstances of this conquest, it is more rational to suppose it true than that a brave, numerous, and warlike nation should have voluntarily suffered themselves to be disarmed and enslaved by a shallow artifice; or that, discovering the fraud practiced upon them, they should unresistingly have submitted to its consequences. This conquest was not an empty acquisition to the Mengwe. They claimed dominion over all the lands occupied by the Delawares, and, in many instances, their claims were distinctly acknowledged. Parties of the Five Nations occasionally occupied the Lenape country, and wandered over it at all times at their pleasure.

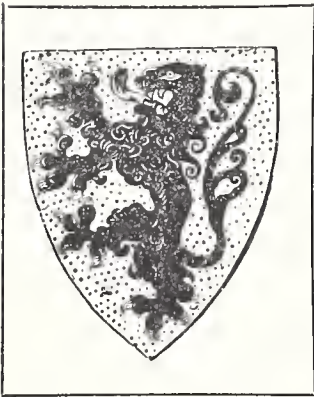
Eventually, in 1756, Tedyuscung, the noted Delaware chief, seems to have compelled the Iroquois to acknowledge the independence of his tribe, but the claim of superiority was often afterwards revived.





CHAPTER II.

THE POWDER IN THE MINE.



FOR many years before the outbreak of the French and Indian War the hapless Pennsylvania-German settlers were sleeping over a loaded mine filled with inflammable powder. Many events and circumstances were forming the fuze to which it needed but the spark of the torch to start a flame of death and destruction, the horror of which even we of to-day can hardly realize.

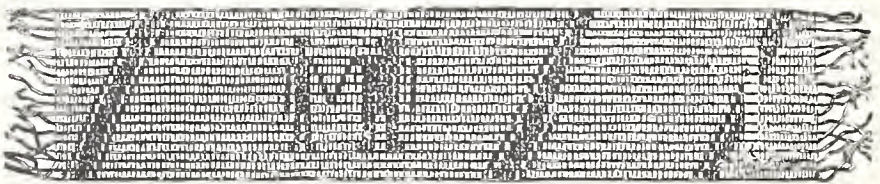
We are apt to forget that not all the hardships of provincial days rested upon the shoulders of the white men. The Indian had his wrongs as well. Even in Pennsylvania, where, above all other colonies, equity and fair-dealing were the rule, there were dark shadows of injustice.

We must remember that the Indian was a savage. Like all untutored and uncivilized people he was not accustomed to reason matters out to a conclusion, nor was

he able to combat the educated and experienced shrewdness of the civilized man of business, with weapon of like character. He was swayed by animal passions alone. He looked at the surface of things and felt that he was playing a losing game; all seemed to be against him, and, in his wrath, he saw no other remedy than the ever-failing one of pitting muscle against brain. As a savage his nature was two-fold. He was a child, fond of every toy upon which his eye rested, and always ready to gratify his sense, whether of appetite or sight. No wonder he eagerly reached out his hand for the miserable trinkets which were offered him for miles of the fairest lands on God's footstool, but when his cheap musket was broken, his fish hooks were lost, his match coat worn out, his squaw tired of her looking glass and colored beads, his vile whiskey drunk and his debauch over, with nothing left to him but his tomahawk and scalping knife, then his heart was filled with hatred and he only longed to wreak out his vengeance on him whom he thought had wronged him.

To the credit of William Penn it must be said that he was the one man who ever treated the Indian with some degree of justice. From the standpoint of the times he did what was right. And yet he drove a pretty good bargain when he purchased from the Indians their lands in the celebrated treaty of 1682, and this they soon began to realize. With the advent of the Palatine settlers in the Tulpehocken region, from 1723 to 1729, and their settlement on "unoccupied lands," came the demand from the Delawares, on June 5, 1728, for payment of the value of the ground from which they were gradually being forced. They were paid for it, and were given all they asked, but, as the unprejudiced reader scans the wording of the deed of 1732 which here follows, we believe he will not be sur-

prised to hear that it became one of the things in the memory of the Indian over which he did not love to dwell as he took down his wigwam and turned his back forever on the lovely forests, filled with game, the beautiful streams, teeming with fish, and the sunny fields which, for generations had been his home.



INDIAN DEED OF 1732.

We, Sasooan alias Allummapis, Sachem of the Schuylkill Indians in the Province of Pennsylvania; Elalapis, Ohopamen, Pesqueetomen, Mayeemoe, Partridge, Tekapoaset alias Joe, on behalf of ourselves and all the other Indians of the said Nation, for and in consideration of twenty brass kettles, one Hundred Strowdwater Match coats of two yards each, One Hundred Duffel Ditto, One Hundred Blankets, One Hundred Yards of half Thicks, Sixty linnen Shirts, Twenty Hatts, Six made Coats, twelve pair of Shoos and buckles, Thirty pair of Stockings, three Hundred pounds of Gun Powder, Six Hundred pounds of Lead, Twenty five Guns, twelve Gun Locks, fifty Tommy-hocks or hatchets, fifty planting houghs, one Hundred & twenty Knives, Sixty pair of Scissors, one Hundred Tobacco Tongs, Twenty four looking Glasses, Forty Tobacco Boxes, one Thousand Flints, five pounds of paint, Twenty four dozen of Gartering, Six dozen of Ribbon, twelve dozen of Rings, two Hundred Awl blades, one Hundred pounds of Tobacco, four Hundred Tobacco Pipes, Twenty Gallons of Rum and fifty Pounds in

Money, to us in hand paid or secured to be paid by Thomas Penn, Esq^r, one of the Proprietors of the said Province, the receipt whereof we do hereby acknowledge, Have Granted Bargained Sold Released & Confirmed and by these presents Do Grant Bargain Sell Release and confirm unto John Penn, the said Thomas Penn & Richard Penn, Esq^{rs}, Proprietors of the said Province, all those Tracts of Land or Lands lying on or near the River Schuylkill, in the said Province, or any of the branches streams fountains or springs thereof, Eastward or Westward, and all of the Lands lying in or near Swamps Marshes fens or meadows the waters or streams of which flow into or toward the said River Schuylkill, situate lying and being between those Hills called Lechaig Hills and those called Keekachtanemin Hills, which cross the said River Schuylkill about Thirty miles above the said Lechaig Hills, and all Land whatsoever lying within the said bounds and between the branches of Delaware River on the Eastern side of the said Land, and the branches or streams running into the River Susquehannah on the Western side of the said Land, Together with all mines Minerals Quarries Waters Rivers Creeks Woods Timber & Trees, with all and every the appurtenances to the hereby Granted Land and premises belonging or appertaining, To have and To Hold the said Tract or Tracts of Land Hereditaments and premises hereby Granted or mentioned or intended to be hereby Granted (That is to say all those Lands situate lying and being on the said River Schuylkill and the branches thereof, Between the Mountains called Lechaig to the South, and the Hills or Mountains called Keekachtanemin on the North, and between the branches of Delaware River on the East, and the waters falling into Susquehanna River on the West,) with all and every their

Appurtenances, unto the said John Penn, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, their Heirs and Assigns, To the only proper use and behoof of the said John Penn, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, their Heirs and Assigns forever, So that neither We the said Sasoonan alias Allummapis, Elalapis, Ohopamen, Pesqueetomen, Mayeemoe, Partridge, Tepakoast alis Joe nor our Heirs nor any other Person or Persons hereafter shall or may have or claim any Estate Right Title or Interest of in or to the hereby Granted Land and premises or any part thereof, But from the same shall be Excluded and forver debarred by these presents, In Witness whereof the said Sasoonan alias Allummapis, Elalapis, Ohopamen, Pesqueetomen, Mayeemoe, Partridge, Tepakoast alias Joe have hereunto set their Hands and Seals, at Stenton, the Seventh day of September, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and thirty two, and in the Sixth year of the Reign of King George the Second over Great Britain, &c.

* * * * * * *

Of far greater moment than what has just been mentioned, was the celebrated "Walking Purchase" of Northampton County, where, under the protection of a treaty made by him in good faith, but unjustly carried out by his white neighbor, the Delaware Indian saw himself robbed of other fair acres of his land. This crime against his nation, as he considered it, was never forgotten.

William Penn had purchased from Maykeerickkisho and Taughhaughsey, chiefs of the Northern Indians on the Delaware, "all those lands lying and being in the Province of Pennsylvania, beginning upon a line formerly laid out from a corner spruce tree by the river Delaware; and from thence running along the foot of the mountains, west-northwest, to a corner white oak marked with the

letter P, standing by the path that leadeth to an Indian town called Playwickey; and from thence extending westward to Neshaminy creek, from which said line, the said tract or tracts thereby granted doth extend itself back into the woods, *as far as a man can go in one day and a half*, and bounded on the westerly side with the creek called Neshaminy, or the most westerly branch thereof; and from thence by a line to the utmost limits of the said one day and a half's journey; and from thence to the aforesaid river Delaware; and from thence down the several courses of the said river to the first mentioned spruce tree," etc. A map, however, drawn by Thomas Holme, sometime surveyor of the Province, illustrating this historic walk, which, together with other valuable documents bearing on the transaction, was purchased from the heirs of the Penn family by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, has, once for all, put to rest the many erroneous statements extant in books in reference to the day and a half-day's walk.

Setting out from Wrightstown, on the morning of September 19, 1737, the walkers pursued a northerly course, keeping along the old Durham road to Durham creek, thence deployed westerly, at about 2 o'clock p. m., forded the Lehigh a half-mile below Bethlehem, thence walked on in a northwesterly line through the plot of the present town of Bethlehem, and passing through the northeast angle of Hanover Township, Lehigh County, into Allen Township, halted at sundown, not far from the site of Howell's mill on the Hockendauqua. Near their place of bivouac was an Indian town, at which resided Tishekunk, the counsellor of Lappawingoe. Next morning, after having caught their horses which had strayed, they resumed the walk, and having crossed the Blue mountain at the Lehigh Water Gap, after the lapse of six hours ac-

completed their task. The distance traveled did not exceed sixty or sixty-five miles, but the consummation of the purchase was done with a determination of purpose on the part of the whites far exceeding anything anticipated by the Indians. From the northern extremity of the line thus run by the walk, Surveyor Holme ran a line parallel to the head line of the previous purchase near Wrightstown, in a northeasterly direction to the mouth of the Lackawaxen, thus extending William Penn's purchase of 1686, whereby there passed into the hands of the Proprietaries, past all claim forever from the side of the Indians, the upper portion of Bucks, fully nine tenths of the present Northampton, a large slice of Carbon, and the fourth of Monroe and Pike County each, containing together, at the lowest estimate, an area of twelve hundred square miles.

Another most just cause of complaint on the part of the red men was the traffic in rum kept up among their people. Slaves as they were to liquor they knew its debasing effect upon them, and would gladly have broken away from it. Many efforts were made to induce the ruling powers to take such action as might prevent its sale to them, and, in fact, some action was taken, but, unfortunately, rum was too valuable an ally to be lightly cast aside by the whites. In fairness it must be said that, almost from the beginning of the colony, the Society of Friends had thrown their influence against the iniquity of selling rum among the Indians. At one time all such traffic was forbidden by statute. After the death of William Penn an increasing number of complaints came up, from the Delawares and especially the Shawanese, in reference to the unrestrained traffic in liquor which unlicensed traders brought among them. Again and again did the

Indians petition against the trade and the manner in which it was conducted. Unfortunately, their craving for drink was so great that, whenever they experienced the effects of prohibitory law they immediately begged that rum might be sold them again. It is more than probable, however, that these latter requests were, more or less, inspired by the traders, whose business was very much impaired by the loss of the rum trade. These men, with their vile liquor, met the young members of the tribe, returning from hunting and trapping, and, by their bartering, robbed the old men, the women, and the children of the very necessities of life. To such an extent was this carried on that, in 1731, Shikellimy gave the authorities of Pennsylvania to understand that friendly relations with the Six Nations could not exist unless the liquor trade with their subjects, the Delawares and the Shawanese, was regulated.

However fairly the Indians may have been treated by Penn, and by the authorities after him, yet it cannot be denied that, in numerous instances, besides being cheated by the traders, they were greatly abused by the settlers, who never hesitated to take advantage of them. The life of a savage was held very cheaply, and still more so his property. Were this the place for it many pathetic and shameful instances might be given in evidence of this fact. All this rankled in the hearts of the injured person, and in the memory of his friends, and, in accordance with their savage nature, they but waited the opportunity to balance the scale, in their own manner, with their white neighbors.

By a strange turn in the wheel of fortune, when this opportunity came the vengeance fell upon the heads of the Pennsylvania-German settlers on the border land, who, of all men, never injured the Indians by deed or word, and who, alone, were truly their friends.

No matter how much injured, however, nor how greatly wronged, the Delaware Indians would have forgiven, if not forgotten, and the tale of blood-shed in Pennsylvania, which I have to relate, would never have been recounted, had the authorities of the Province cast in their lot with them instead of finally adhering to the Six Nations. It is hard to realize the hatred which the former bore towards those who called themselves their masters. The shame they felt, as a conquered nation, is evidenced by the tradition, already related, which shows how anxious they were to explain away, in an honorable manner, the cause of their vassalage. It was a deep wound which the proud Iroquois kept rankling.

As the conquerors and masters of the Delawares, the Iroquois claimed ownership of all the lands in Pennsylvania which belonged to the former. With the exodus of the Germans from Schoharie, in New York Province, to the Tulpehocken region of Pennsylvania, and the further increase of settlement, their eyes became opened to the value of their land claims in that Province. The first step taken, at the great Onondago Council, was to send Shikellimy, an Oneida chief, to the forks of the Susquehanna, in 1728, to guard the interests of the Six Nations in Pennsylvania. He had general oversight over the Delaware and Shawanese Indians, which tribes were soon given to understand that, in their future dealings with the Proprietary Government, it would be necessary to consult him, and that all their business must be done in the same manner as the affairs of the Six Nations were accomplished, which was through their appointed deputy. About 1745, Shikellimy was appointed to the full vice-gerency over these tributary tribes with Shamokin (the present city of Sunbury) for his seat. He was a noble specimen of the

red man, shrewd and clear in his efforts to promote the interests of his people.

Because he was, in every sense, a "good Indian," much interest was felt as to the whereabouts of his grave. In October, 1897, a party, in search of Indian relics at Sunbury, found it in the center of the road which leads to the Northumberland bridge, about midway between the southern end of the bridge and the Hunter mansion, barely two feet beneath the surface. The skeleton was in a good state of preservation, the skull still covered with a mass of long black hair, which, when moved, fell off and crumbled to dust. Lying on the chest of the Indian were a number of blue glass beads, the deer thong which held them having rotted away; beside the head was a peculiarly shaped bottle, empty; by the left hip, as though carried in a pocket, was an oval tobacco box made of tin and but slightly rusted, containing a fishing line of fine twine, in good preservation, some tobacco, an English penny and half-penny bearing the head of George III; beside the body laid the rusty barrel of an old horse pistol, an iron tomahawk, a hunting knife of English make with bone handle, several thin copper bracelets still around the bony wrist, steel buttons of English make, bells and dangles for leggings, three copper finger rings and one of silver with the significant hand-clasp design. One of the coins was unquestionably a medal, bearing on the obverse side the head of the King, and on the reverse an Indian scene representing a warrior hunting the deer from behind the trunk of a tree, with the sun beaming down upon him, probably significant of English friendship. Besides the body the grave contained the nails and hinges of a coffin, the only one, probably, which has been discovered in an Indian burial ground, and convincing, in themselves, as

to the fact that it was, indeed, the burial place of Shikellimy.

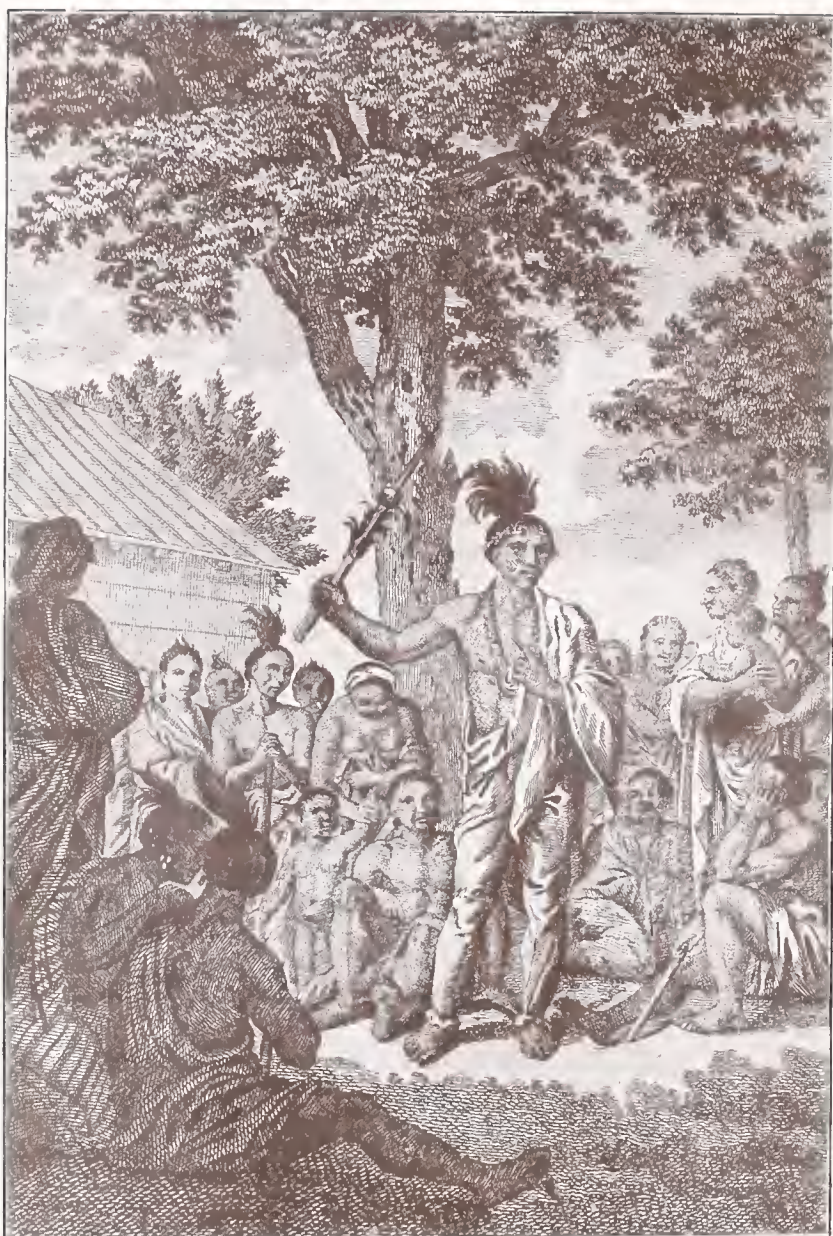
The treaty of 1732 with the Delawares had hardly been accomplished when the Governor of Pennsylvania was made to realize that it would become necessary to placate the Six Nations by a present. It was with difficulty he succeeded in gathering together their representatives, and it was not until 1736 that the matter was finally settled.

Two weeks after this deed had been signed another was drawn covering all the claim of the Six Nations to the land drained by the Delaware River, and south of the Blue mountains. Since they had never, until this date, laid any specific claim to the lands on the lower Delaware this second deed becomes significant. It established the Iroquois' claim to all the lands owned by the Delaware Indians.

This latter tribe were never willing to acknowledge the justice of the so-called "Walking Purchase," and refused to give up any land contrary to their understanding of the original treaty. To gain their point the English, at a conference with the Six Nations held in 1742, to which the Delawares were merely told they might come, and, after the usual presents were given in payment of lands about the Susquehanna, complained of the actions of the Delawares in refusing to vacate the land. It will not take much thought for the reader to realize with what feelings of anger and bitterness the hearts of the Delawares must have been filled as they saw Canassatego, the Iroquois speaker, turn to the Governor, and heard him say:

"You informed us of the misbehavior of our cousins, the Delawares, with respect to their continuing to claim and refusing to remove from some land on the River Delaware, notwithstanding their ancestors had sold it by deed

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



*Ein amerikanischer Sachem
der seine Landsleute zum Krieg ermahnt.*

A CONTEMPORARY GERMAN ENGRAVING.

under their hands and seals to the Proprietors for a valuable consideration, upwards of fifty years ago, and notwithstanding that they themselves had about (five) years ago, after a long and full examination, ratified that deed of their ancestors, and given a fresh one under their hands and seals, and then you requested us to remove them, enforcing your request with a string of wampum. Afterwards you laid on the table by Conrad Weiser our own letters, some of our cousins' letters, and the several writings to prove the charge against our cousins, with a draught of the land in dispute. We now tell you that we have perused all these several papers. We see with our own eyes that they (the Delawares) have been a very unruly people, and are altogether in the wrong in their dealings with you. We have concluded to remove them, and oblige them to go over the River Delaware, and to quit all claim to any lands on this side for the future, since they have received pay for them, and it has gone through their guts long ago. To confirm to you that we will see your request executed, we lay down this string of wampum in return for yours."

The Delawares were given no opportunity to defend themselves. Indeed, as soon as Canassatego had finished the above address to the Governor, he turned to the Delawares, and, taking a belt of wampum in his hand, spoke as follows:

"*Cousins*: Let this belt of wampum serve to chastise you; you ought to be taken by the hair of the head and shaken severely till you recover your senses and become sober; you don't know what ground you are standing on, or what you are doing. Our Brother Onas' case is very just and plain, and his intentions to preserve friendship; on the other hand your cause is bad, your head far from

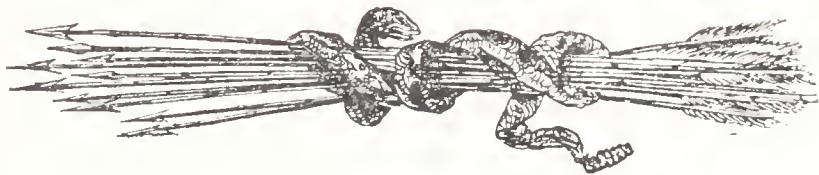
being upright, you are maliciously bent to break the chain of friendship with our Brother Onas. We have seen with our eyes a deed signed by nine of your ancestors above fifty years ago for this very land, and a release signed not many years since by some of yourselves and chiefs now living to the number of fifteen or upwards. But how came you to take upon you to sell land at all? We conquered you, we made women of you, you know you are women and can no more sell land than women. Nor is it fit that you should have the power of selling land since you would abuse it. This land that you claim is gone through your guts. You have been furnished with cloths and meat and drink by the goods paid you for it, and now you want it again like children as you are. But what makes you sell land in the dark? Did you ever tell us that you had sold this land? Did we ever receive any part, even the value of a pipe shank for it? You have told us a blind story that you sent a messenger to inform us of the sale, but he never came amongst us, nor we never heard anything about it. This is acting in the dark, and very different from the conduct our Six Nations observe in their sales of land. On such occasions they give public notice and invite all the Indians of their united nations, and give them a share of the present they receive for their lands. This is the behavior of the wise United Nations, but we find that you are none of our blood. You act a dishonest part, not only in this, but in other matters. Your ears are ever open to slanderous reports about our brethren. * * * And for all these reasons we charge you to remove instantly, we don't give you liberty to think about it. You are women, take the advice of a wise man and remove immediately. You may return to the other side of the Delaware, where you came from, but we don't know whether,

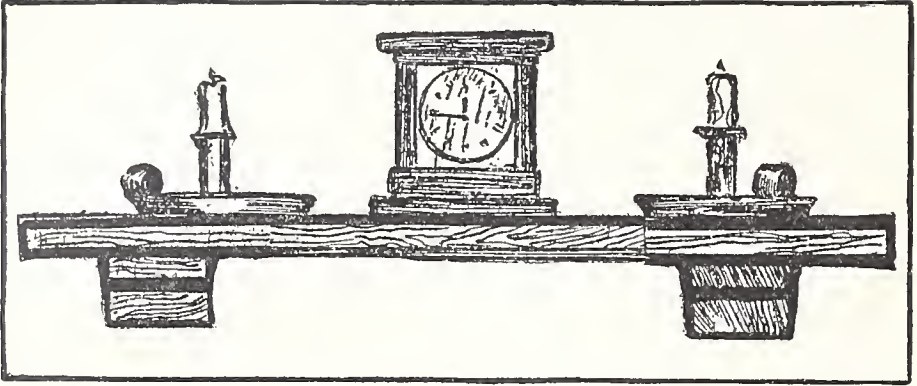
considering how you have demeaned yourselves, you will be permitted to live there, or whether you have not swallowed that land down your throats, as well as the land on this side. We, therefore, assign you two places to go,—either to Wyomin or Shamokin. You may go to either of these places, and then we shall have you under our eye, and shall see how you behave. Don't deliberate, but remove away and take this belt of wampum."

Conrad Weiser interpreted this into English, and Cornelius Spring turned the English into the Delaware tongue. While this rebuke was still smarting on the ears of the Delawares, Canassatego taking up another belt of wampum said to them:

"This serves to forbid you, your children and grandchildren, to the latest posterity, forever meddling in land affairs, neither you nor any who shall descend from you are ever after to presume to sell any land, for which purpose you are to preserve this string in your memory of what your uncles have this day given you in charge. We have some other business to transact with our brethren and therefore depart the Council and consider what has been said to you."

The Delawares sullenly withdrew to brood over their insult.





CHAPTER III.

SHAPING THE DESTINY OF A CONTINENT.
CONRAD WEISER.



GOD, before whose eyes the future lays as an open book, and whose plans for the welfare of man are mapped out years in advance, had set apart, from the beginning, the continent of America to be a land of freedom, where every one could worship him accord-

ing to the dictates of his own conscience, and where each might dwell in his own home, surrounded by his family, unmolested and in peace. To rule and govern such a country the Indian, its original discoverer, was unfit; no more fit, because the time was not ripe for it, was the Norseman who wandered to its shores in the year 1000. But, when the printing press was beginning to spread knowledge over the world, Christopher Columbus was permitted to rediscover America, and settlement, of a lasting character, began.

To the Spaniard was given the first opportunity to prove his fitness for the great work which lay before him, but, with his greed for gold, his cruel Inquisition, and unmerciful nature, he was speedily found wanting. There remained only, at the period of which we write, the two great rival nations of England and France facing each other, the former with its colonies stretched along the middle Atlantic Coast, the latter occupying Canada on the North, Louisiana on the South, and the Mississippi River in between. It was a great prize for which they were contending and France was resolved to gain it. A series of forts was already in progress to form the links of a binding chain which might encompass the English, and from which, as a support, its forces might advance and overwhelm the enemy. Both sides saw the advantage to be accrued and both knew the dangers and difficulties to be encountered. With such a vast extent of territory before them, and but a limited number of troops at command, the cooperation of the Indian became a necessity and to gain this every nerve was strained by each.

Above all others the agent selected by Providence to bring to a happy conclusion the plans so wisely ordained, was Conrad Weiser, the German Palatine, a man who has done more for the welfare of the Province of Pennsylvania than any other one, and has received less credit for it; who, had he been of English blood, would, long since, have had grand monuments and lasting tablets reared to his memory, but who is just beginning to become known to the general public, and whose monument is but an humble slab in an orchard of his old homestead.

Conrad Weiser, as familiarly known, but whose full name was John Conrad Weiser, born November 2, 1696, died July 13, 1760, was the son of John Conrad Weiser

(1660-1746) and Anna Magdalena Uebele (1666-1709). For generations the family resided at Gross-Aspach, County of Backnang, Duchy of Wurtemberg, Germany, where father and son, of his ancestors, held the honorable office of "Schuldheisz," or chief magistrate. That it was a family of note and standing is evidenced by the fact that they bore the following escutcheon: "Per fesse, gules and argent, in chief a swan of the second, in base three roses of the first stalked and leaved vert," and, for a crest, "A swan as in the arms." Properly interpreted it means a shield, the upper half of which was red, the lower half silver; in the upper half a silver swan, in the lower half three red roses with green leaves and stalks.

As with many other families of good standing the religious wars of Germany bore heavily upon them. In 1693, the town in which resided John Conrad Weiser, Sr., with the rest of the Palatinate, was cruelly devastated by the French. These aggressions were followed by pestilence and famine; then came the terrible winter of 1708-09, when birds perished on the wing, beasts in their lairs, and mortals fell dead in the way. The spring of 1709 found 30,000 Germans, who had abandoned their native land, washed, like a mighty wave, along the shores of England.

Of these was Weiser, who, on June 24, 1709, with eight children (Margaret, Magdalena, Sabina, Conrad, George Frederick, Christopher Frederick, Barbara and John Frederick), his wife having but recently died on May 1, 1709, left Gross-Aspach, although then in middle life. His eldest daughter, Catharine, remained behind with her husband, Conrad Boss, with whom she had two children.

As a man of means and honorable position it was but natural that he should become a leader of his people, and

take charge of the 4,000 emigrants who left for New York Province at the invitation of the Mohawk chiefs, then in the Indian embassy present at London.

The hardships of that voyage, and the experiences of the hapless Germans in New York, have already been ably told by the Rev. Dr. Jacobs in a previous paper of this series.

In the midst of their tribulations at Livingstone Manor, about the close of November, 1713, Quagnant, or Guinant, a chief of the Maquas, or Six Nations, and a friend of Weiser, whom he had learned to know favorably during a visit to Albany on his mission of negotiation for Schoharie Valley, paid him a visit. Manifesting a fondness for the lad, Conrad, he requested permission to take him to his own people, to which the father consented, knowing him to be trustworthy. Here, Conrad says, he suffered much from the cold in the winter, and still more from lack of food in the following spring, because of the scarcity of provisions among the Indians. He was frequently obliged to secrete himself for fear of being murdered while they were intoxicated. He remained with them eight months during which time he became familiar with their language and habits.

In 1720 came his marriage to Anna Eve, a German Christian and not an Indian as some suppose, whose last name, unfortunately, is not known. The writer has in his possession what was a handsome inlaid box, her property, which she brought with her from the Fatherland. She was born January 25, 1700 and died December 27, 1778, and lies beside her husband, at the Tulpehocken homestead. Her tombstone, being of rough-hewn sand stone, in time the lettering became indistinct, when an effort was made to recut the figures. In doing so unfortunate errors

were made which will account for printed discrepancies from dates above given.

In 1721 Conrad was already taking a conspicuous place in Provincial affairs and "was sent with a petition to the newly arrived Governor Burnet." For some ten years he stood between the Indians and English, as well as the English and Germans, in all matters of dispute, until, in 1729, he left New York, removed to Pennsylvania, settled at Tulpehocken where he built the substantial stone house still standing, about one-half mile east of Womelsdorf, Pa.

It was not intended, by Providence, that he should rest here idly and merely vegetate. In 1731 his friend, the Indian chief Shikellimy, found him at Tulpehocken and prevailed on him to accompany him to Philadelphia, where Governor Gordon quickly learned to know and appreciate him. From the year 1732, when Washington was born, Conrad Weiser was the officially recognized Interpreter of Pennsylvania, and head of its Indian Bureau, so remaining until his death. He was constantly and actively engaged in the discharge of his duties. Many important treaties were arranged and ratified by him, and, through his wise and philanthropic policy, many bloody outbreaks were prevented. His entire record has ever been above taint and suspicion.

His grave was visited, at various times, by Indians who always respected his memory, and many pilgrimages have been made to it by those, who, in after years, reaped the fruit of his labors and learned to appreciate his work, but, of all these, the most noteworthy, was that of President George Washington on the morning of November 14, 1793.

In the year 1741 he was commissioned as a Justice of the Peace for Lancaster County, continuing in service for

many years, and, after the erection of Berks County, 1752, filling it within that territory also. He was the first judge of the Courts of Berks County, and president judge from 1752 till his death in 1760.

On October 31, 1755 he was commissioned a Lieut. Colonel by Governor Morris, and placed in command of the frontier between the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers. Forts were erected and garrisoned by his troops, the First Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment; bloodshed was a thing of daily occurrence; details for the protection of the people were constantly necessary; the supplies of his troops and his large correspondence must receive untiring attention; more treaties were to be arranged, and all was done as he only could have done it; but, with his advanced years, the strain became too great, and, after peace had once more been an accomplished fact and his duty performed, the unassuming, but none the less great, hero and patriot went to his eternal rest and reward on July 13, 1760.

As has already been said, the necessity for an Indian alliance was so apparent, if success were desired in the coming strife, that both English and French spared no efforts to that end. The latter had already practically secured the aid of the Shawanese, while the former, through Colonel Johnson, of New York, had gained the Mohawk tribe of the Six Nations, whose influence, however, stopped there. The Delawares on the one hand, with the Cayugas, Onondagoes, Oneidas, and remaining tribes of the Iroquois on the other hand, were still wavering. Deadly enemies as they were it was impossible to make friends of both; one of the two must be an ally with the certainty that the other would become an enemy. How should the choice be made and who was wise enough

to make it. There was but one living man who not only had the ability to choose, but who had, in addition, the power to accomplish desired results from the choice. That man was Conrad Weiser. Friend to all, respected and trusted alike by all, on his word and decision hung the destiny of a great continent. Under Providence, he choose well. He knew the weakness of the Delawares, a conquered nation; he knew the strength of the Six Nations. His prophetic eye looked into the future and saw there not a mere Indian war but a great struggle between two great nations; he knew this struggle must take place, mainly, in the territory commanded by the Iroquois, and, without their assistance, must fail in favorable result to the English. He was not blind to the fact that an alliance with the Six Nations meant, without a shadow of doubt, the hostility of the Delawares, the deluging of his own fair Pennsylvania in blood, and the death and destruction, above all others, of those who were his own kith and kin. But he also knew that an empire was at stake, and, in full consciousness of the duty which lay before him, he closed his eyes to the dark vision pictured before them, and cast in his lot, as well as that of his adopted country, with the Iroquois.

The choice made there remained to him the necessity for consummating its spirit. Naturally this only could be done by the performance of some act of favor, and, fortunately, the opportunity lay before him to do so. It has been told how, in 1711, the Tuscarora nation, then located south of the Ohio River and west of the Allegheny Mountains, entered into a conspiracy with several neighboring tribes to fall upon the Carolina settlers. The white men immediately availed themselves of the ancient feud between the Northern and Southern Indians, and formed an

alliance with the Catawba and other Muskokee Indians. After severe fighting, fifty Carolinians and one thousand Indians drove the Tuscaroras out of their hunting grounds. The broken remnant of this once famous nation retired to Pennsylvania and New York, becoming the Sixth Nation of the great Iroquois Confederacy. From that hour the Iroquois hatred of the Catawba Indians became intense. Scarcely a season passed but several roving bands of painted warriors followed the mountain valleys toward the South to satiate their revenge with Southern scalps. As the Virginia settlements began to encroach upon the Iroquois war trails these bands of Northern warriors annoyed the settlers by picking up a living as they passed. The Virginians would not submit to this and passed their famous ranger law, which provided for a body of rangers who were authorized to arrest all armed bands of roving Indians, and take them before the nearest magistrate for further examination, and, until said Indians could give a satisfactory account of themselves, they were to be lodged in the county jail. This law further provided that, if any Indians resisted or ran away, it would be entirely legal for the officers to kill them. The effect of such legislation, so different from the pacific government of Pennsylvania, was to plunge Virginia into endless trouble with the Iroquois. They were extremely careful of their behavior while passing through Pennsylvania, but, when they reached Virginia, took every opportunity to annoy the settlers. This friction, in time, reached an acute stage, bordering constantly on hostilities, and ever tending to drive the Iroquois into the arms of the French, who were but too ready to embrace them.

Beyond this, when the Delawares had been turned out of the house by Canassatego in 1742, the shrewd Iroquois

turned their attention to more important business. They claimed that both Maryland and Virginia were settling on land owned by the Six Nations, land that had never been sold to the white man. They then asked that the Governor of Pennsylvania should intercede and demand payment for damages. Turning to him they said: "That country belongs to us by right of conquest. We have bought it with our blood, and taken it from our enemies in fair war; and we expect as owners of that land to receive such a consideration for it as the land is worth. We desire you will press him to send us a positive answer; let him (Governors of Virginia and Maryland) say yes or no; if he says yes, we will treat with him, if no, we are able to do ourselves justice, and we will do it by going to take payment on ourselves." This was virtually a declaration of war unless terms of their own making were complied with at once by Virginia and Maryland. To meet their views was no easy matter, but if their views were met, and peace could be made between them and the two southern states, the great Six Nations were gained for England and lost to France. Weiser knew this, and he who alone could solve the problem started out to do so. In January, 1743, with Thomas McKee, he started through the snow for Shamokin, where, at Shikellimy's house, after a generous distribution of match-coats, he succeeded in getting the Indians to consent that a delegation, with Shikellimy at their head, be sent at once to Onondago to persuade the Six Nations to take measures to meet the Governors of Virginia and Maryland. Upon a second visit to Shamokin he learned that the deputies had returned and expressed the willingness of their people to have a conference. To arrange for this, once more Weiser departed, this time to Onondago, where it was de-

cided to have a meeting in Lancaster of all parties at issue.

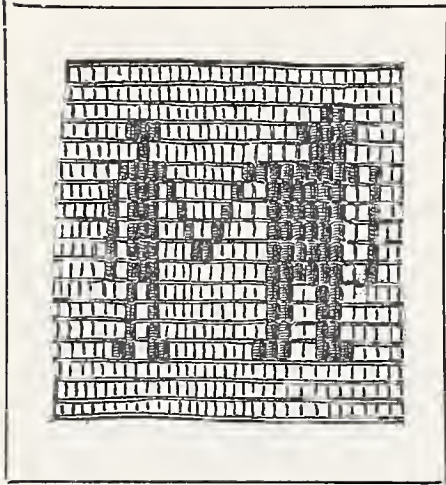
The great treaty at Lancaster was held in 1744. Here all the vast knowledge and experience of Weiser was brought into requisition, and was indeed needed. After the usual talks, and feasting, presents were distributed at the right moment, and, finally, the desired and happy conclusion reached. The Six Nations were placated and won; the Delawares were thrown over and lost. Truly the fuse to the powder was laid, the explosion now but waited the spark from the torch.





CHAPTER IV.

THE BULWARK OF THE PROVINCE.



WE have said that the selection of Conrad Weiser, for the work before him, was providential.

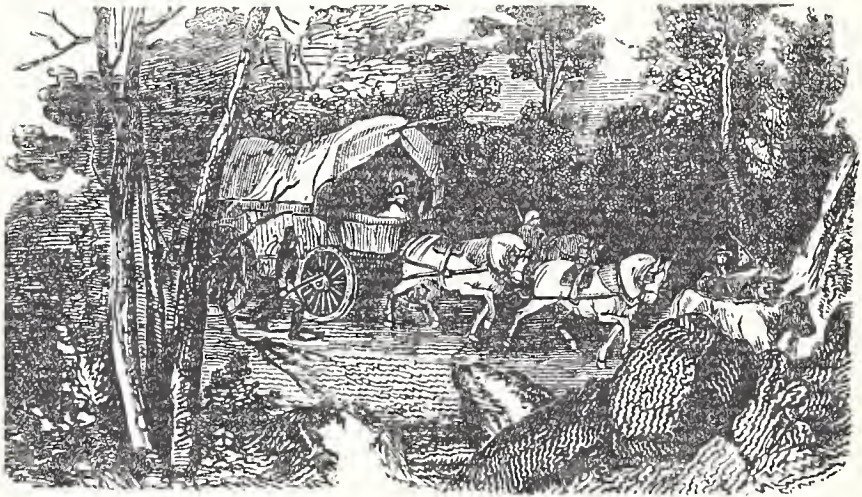
Equally so was the selection of the men who were to be the bulwark of the Province from 1755 to 1763. Had they failed in their duty, and allowed the savage to pass

their boundary, the progress of civilization and development in Pennsylvania would have been delayed a quarter of a century, the Revolutionary War might never have occurred, and the independence of the American Colonies never accomplished. Failure was impossible. To make it impossible the oversight of Providence was necessary. It was a work which demanded a virile people, and, in the light of the present, illuminating so clearly the past, and, even now, pointing to the fact that the destinies of the en-

tire world are gradually being shaped by those who are of ancient Teutonic blood, of whom the Anglo-Saxon race form but a part, important though it be, is it to be wondered that God chose the people of the German Rhine to defeat the savage onslaught of barbarism in Pennsylvania at the time of the French and Indian War? And it was a good choice. None were better fitted. Descendants of generations of warriors, whose fighting blood filled their veins, they, themselves, were veterans who had just passed through the ordeal of war with France; weary of battle and bloodshed, their homes destroyed, their friends and loved ones murdered or dead, they turned their faces to America to find a home where they might live in peace and for which their domestic natures longingly sought; they did not come either for gold or adventure; with conservative characteristics, or, if you please, stubborn and obstinate, they were resolved that when this home was found neither poverty nor hardship, the power of the king himself nor the tomahawk and scalping knife of the savage, should drive them from it, and where they first planted their feet there they still remain; they were not traders, to cheat and defraud, but peaceful farmers against whom the red men had no wrongs to lay; they, too, in many instances fled from religious persecution, but they never brought with them the bigotry from which they themselves escaped; they were content to erect their churches, place beside them their school houses, and, having thus cared for the spiritual welfare of themselves and their children, were willing that their neighbors should enjoy, unmolested, the same privileges.

It is not the purpose of this paper to give an extended account, or any account, of the German immigration into this province. That has already been done most ably.

To prove, however, how thoroughly well fitted these people were for the work before them, we should be reminded that many of those, on whom the brunt of the struggle fell, were the men who came from New York Province and settled in the Tulpehocken Region. Recall, for a moment, their sufferings in London and on the ocean, their terrible disappointment in their bondage at Livingstone Manor, their subsequent flight to the wilderness of Pennsylvania, and we can understand what was their frame of



mind when, at last, they had found the homes they wanted. The time came when the government of the Province would fain have dislodged them, but did not dare to do it, and when the Indian tried it he realized his error. What did they owe to England? In one sense nothing, and yet they became her adopted children, and were loyal to her, because they loved their homes. So, too, were they most loyal in the Revolution, and have been ever loyal since. They fought for both home and country.

Then there were those who came to the frontier by way

of Philadelphia, as a port of entry. Many of these had their own individual and peculiar religious beliefs, because of which they were constantly persecuted in the land of their birth. Once in America, they sought the quiet to be found only on the outer edge of settlement. Having, for the first time, found a place where they might worship God, unmolested and in their own way, they did not propose to be driven away by even the savage, though he were daubed from head to foot with war paint.

The history of the French and Indian War, in the more settled part of eastern Pennsylvania, is practically the history of the early German settlers in Pennsylvania. They did not do all the fighting, but they did most of it; of the homes destroyed theirs were by far the greater number; other lives were lost, and others carried away into captivity, but not many. The strange anomaly of the whole record lies in the fact, which has already been stated, that, of all people, they alone always treated the red man with unfailing justice. They did far more than that. Where others went to him with a musket in one hand, and a bottle of rum in the other, they took the Bible.

Among the many different settlers were the so-called Moravians. In the ninth century a sister of the King of Bulgaria being carried a prisoner to Constantinople, became a Christian, and through her means, on her return to her native land, a Christian church was established in her country, of which the King of Moravia and the Duke of Bohemia were members. A part of these churches were afterwards forced into the Roman Church, but a select few still refused to bow the knee to Rome. This little remnant, adhering to the pure and simple doctrines of the primitive church, suffered a variety of persecutions for several centuries, and at last were permitted to live in a

wasted province on the borders of Moravia. Here they established a church in 1457, on what they deemed "the Rule and Law of Christ," calling themselves at first *Frares legis Christi*, *Brethren of the Law of Christ*, and, finally, *Unitas Fratrum*, or *United Brethren*. They were a regular, sound and evangelical church a century before the reformation of Luther, and were in intimate communion with the Waldenses, who had been preserved uncorrupted from the days of the Apostles. Count Zinzendorf was not the founder of the Moravian church, but merely the protector of its members, when driven from their native land. They were allowed to settle in his village of Bethelsdorf. He assisted them to reorganize their church, and, after fruitless attempts to induce them to join the Lutheran Church, he became himself one of them, and their leader and guardian, especially in temporal matters. When in 1743 the Elector of Saxony expelled the United Brethren, and the followers of Schwenkfeld, from his dominions, such of them as resided in the Count's village of Bethelsdorf (in upper Lusatia) since 1725, resolved to go to Georgia, and the Count undertook to procure a free passage for them from the trustees of the Georgia colony residing in London. They established missions in Georgia, but, refusing to take up arms in defense of the colony, were obliged to leave, and sought an asylum in the peaceful domain of William Penn, about the years 1739 and 1740. Rev. George Whitfield, who had labored in conjunction with them in Georgia, had begun the erection of a large building in the "Forks of the Delaware" as a school for negro children, to which was given the name of Nazareth. At his request the brethren undertook to finish the building, though attended with great danger, as the Indians refused to quit the country



WHITEFIELD HALL, FROM AN OLD SKETCH.

and threatened to murder them; they were compelled to leave it in 1740.

Bishop Nischman, arriving in 1740, with a company of brethren and sisters, from Europe, they made purchase of the present site of Bethlehem. It was then wild and woody, at a distance of eighty miles from the nearest town, and only two European houses stood in the neighborhood, about two miles up the river. No other dwellings were to be seen in the whole country, except the scattering huts of the Indians. Rev. Chr. Henry Rauch assisted Bishop Nischman in his labors.

Some time after, the Brethren purchased "the Manor of Nazareth" from Mr. Whitfield, finished the house, and "Nazareth became by degrees a very pleasant settlement." The Indians were reconciled, and permission was obtained from the Six Nations for the establishment of the mission.

The Moravian Church has ever been a missionary church. At the close of the year 1741, Count Zinzendorf arrived in America, and in the ensuing summer of 1742 visited Bethlehem. While here he made a missionary tour among the villages of the red men in the neighborhood, accompanied by his daughter Benigna, and several brethren and sisters. His tour was extended to Tulpehocken, the residence of Conrad Weiser, and to the Shawanese and Delawares of Wyoming and Shamokin. He returned to Europe in 1743. It should be said at this time, that Conrad Weiser rendered most valuable assistance in the mission efforts put forth by the Brethren. He accompanied them on various trips, induced the Indians to receive them favorably, did much toward teaching them the language and customs of the aborigine, and used his influence with the Government to protect them on several critical occasions.

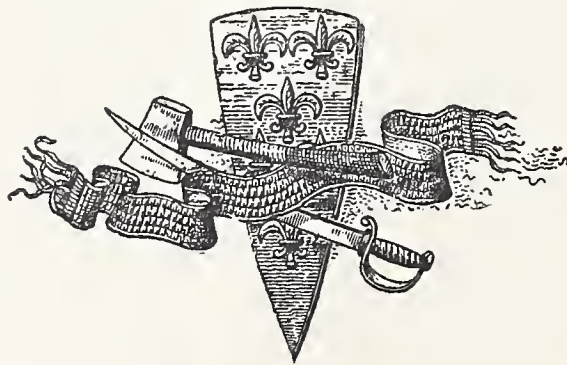
Bethlehem and Nazareth continued to prosper. The former became a central and controlling station from which the Brethren took their instructions from the elders, on their departure, from time to time, for the different outposts of the mission. Here many believing Indians were baptized, and some lie buried. In 1746 it was the refuge of the persecuted Indians from Shekomeko, an Indian village bordering on Connecticut, near the Stissik mountain, among whom the pious Christian, Henry Rauch, had labored with much success. This small colony, settled in the immediate vicinity of Bethlehem, was called *Frieden-Huetten*, or *Huts of Peace*. Subsequently they were removed to the present locality of Lehigh, in Carbon County, and the mission called *Gnaden-Huetten*, or *Huts of Grace*. In 1746 this had become a very regular and pleasant town. The church stood in the valley, on one side the Indian houses formed a crescent, upon a rising ground, and, on the other stood the house of the missionaries and the burying ground. Indians, from different tribes were added to the number as fast as they were gained over. The missionaries tilled their own grounds, and every Indian family their plantation.

This land on the Mahoning being impoverished, and other circumstances requiring a change, the inhabitants of Gnaden-Huetten removed to the north side of the Lehigh. The dwellings were removed, and a new chapel was built, in June 1754. The place was called *New Gnaden-Huetten*. It stood where Weissport now is. The dwellings were so placed that the Mohicans lived on one, and the Delawares on the other side of the street. The Brethren at Bethlehem took the culture of the old land on the Mahoning upon themselves, made a plantation of it for the use of the Indian congregation, and converted the old

chapel into a dwelling, both for the use of those brethren and sisters who had the care of the plantations, and for the missionaries passing on their visits to the heathen.

The labors of the Moravian missionaries extended from the upper Lehigh to the Susquehanna, and, eventually, to the distant wilds of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers. In this self-denying work were engaged Rauch, Buettner, Senseman, Mack, Christian Frederick Post, Heckewelder, Zeisberger, Bishop Nischman, Bishop Cammerhoff, Bishop Spangenberg, and others. So frequent were the visits of the missionaries and Christian Indians to the Susquehanna, that a beaten path was worn across the Nescopeck Mountains between Gnaden-Huetten and Wyoming.

With the sole purpose of leading the heathen to their Saviour, the godly men engaged in this work little realized how much trouble and sorrow their labors were to bring, not only upon themselves but upon their converts as well.





CHAPTER V.

A BRIEF DIGRESSION.



THE writer cannot refrain from digressing, at this point, for a few moments, to refer to the opprobrious epithets which have been, and even yet continue to be heaped upon the head of the Pennsylvania-German, merely because his tongue, in some cases, has failed to pronounce an alien language to suit the ideas of his English brother, who,

not infrequently, limps in speaking his own mother tongue, and is often entirely ignorant of any other.

Fortunately, we are rapidly approaching the day when the great and loyal services, which the early German settler in Pennsylvania rendered his adopted country, are beginning to be appreciated in their true light. As his heretofore hidden deeds and worth are continually brought to the surface it cannot be otherwise.

Just prior to the French and Indian war this feeling of hostility to the German element of the Province became more especially apparent. It was partly due to the unreasoning alarm which filled every one, an alarm which, after all, was indeed justified because the English ruling element, Quaker and otherwise, were but too well aware of their neglect in providing the necessary means of defence for the very people whom they maligned, and whose petitions for aid were even then ringing in their ears.

The following extract from a letter written October 19, 1754, by the Rev. William Smith to the Archbishop of Canterbury, furnished through the kindness of Dr. Julius F. Sachse, well illustrates what has been said:

“As the French are daily encroaching behind us, and taking possession of the vast fruitful country upon the Ohio, they will be able to offer our Germans easy settlements, which these last will accept of, as they are ignorant people that know no difference between French and English government, being wanton with liberty, uninstructed in the use of it, and placing all happiness in possessing a large piece of land. * * * The Indians are all going over to the French in these parts, because the latter, having possession by means of their forts, can protect them; and whenever they come a little nearer, the Germans will submit and go over also for protection, caring for nothing but to keep possession of the estates they have settled.”

Here is a letter written by an educated and generally respected man, who made it a point to pose as the friend of the Germans, who hob-nobbed with both Weiser and Muhlenberg to gain their favor, and yet who entirely failed to understand the people of whom he wrote or else did not hesitate to act towards them with duplicity. Is it to be wondered that Sauer was opposed to Smith and his

educational plans concerning the Germans? May be not have been justified in his hostility? In the present light of history, showing us the sufferings of the Germans during the French and Indian War, and their unswerving loyalty to a power which was not always as loyal to them, how unjust the criticism of Dr. Smith which we have just read. So, forsooth, their only aim was to acquire lands, on which we know they desired to place their homes? Is not that the sole proper aim of mankind to-day? What is loyalty but the love of home, which causes man to fight for the government which protects him in the untrammelled enjoyment of this home? The mercenary adventurer, who offers his sword for the mere love of warfare, is not a patriot. Dr. Smith had his own ideas of loyalty, but we of to-day do not rank, as among the patriots of this country, the man whose preference was the rather to remain in allegiance to the King of Great Britain than to cast in his lot with his countrymen, who were groaning under the yoke of British thralldom and were endeavoring to cast it off during our Revolutionary War. On the contrary, we do extol the Pennsylvania-German who was loyal to the English Crown, in spite of his sufferings from 1755 to 1763, who was equally loyal to his country in 1776, and who has been ever loyal to it since then. And we respect this loyalty of the Pennsylvania-German the more because it was inspired by a love of home.

Dr. Smith was not alone in speaking of the "ignorant" Germans. Dr. Franklin, himself, even took occasion to refer to them, at one time, as "Palatine boors," but was manly enough, later on, to retract. The day is not distant when the Pennsylvania-German Society may have a word to say about the part these "ignorant" Germans have taken in the educational development of this Com-

monwealth. When such a day comes the writer of this prophesies that some will be surprised who now hold peculiar views on that subject. At this time it would be out of place to dwell further on the matter, but so much has been, and will be, said about Conrad Weiser that we cannot refrain from making public an act of his which shows the interest he, himself, took in the higher English education of his own family, and, likewise, of his people. This data was recently discovered by Dr. Julius F. Sachse, and, through his kindness, is given for the first time.

The gradual evolution of the University of Pennsylvania is interesting. In 1749 a subscription was set on foot by a number of gentlemen of Philadelphia, among whom were Thomas Hopkinson, Tench Francis, Richard Peters and Benjamin Franklin, to establish an academy and charitable school, which was opened the following year, for instruction in the Latin and English languages, and mathematics. It was incorporated in 1753, and the proprietaries endowed it with money and lands amounting to £3,000. Lindley Murray, the grammarian, was a pupil of this college. Rev. William Smith was appointed Principal, Rev. Francis Allison Master of the Latin school. The institution soon grew into a college by an act of incorporation in 1755, under the title of the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia. Rev. Dr. Smith was elected Provost, and, the same year, degrees were conferred upon six pupils, Rev. Mr. Duché, Rev. Dr. Samuel Magaw, Rev. James Latta, Dr. Hugh Williamson, Francis Hopkinson (signer of the Declaration of Independence), and Mr. — Hall. In 1764 the foundation of the first medical school was laid by a course of lectures on anatomy, delivered by Dr. William Shippen. His pupils numbered but ten. The next year

Dr. John Morgan was associated with him as Professor of the Institutes of Medicine. Both of these gentlemen were graduates at Edinburgh. In 1768 Dr. A. Kuhn was appointed Professor of Botany; in 1769 Dr. B. Rush took the Chemical chair, and Dr. Thomas Bond delivered clinical lectures in the Pennsylvania Hospital. Thus was organized what has become one of the largest and most prominent medical schools in the United States.

Dr. Smith, the Provost, was an able and learned man and had been very efficient in procuring funds for it in Europe; yet he was suspected of being not very favorable to a separation from Great Britain, and, being strongly attached to the Church of England, the more ardent Whigs, with some of the Presbyterians, who were Whigs to a man, determined to remove him from office, though against the judgment of the friends of the Institution. The old Provincial charter was abrogated, and a new institution, the University of Pennsylvania, was chartered by the State Legislature in 1779, and endowed with the property of the old college, together with the confiscated property of tories. Rev. Dr. John Ewing, the senior Presbyterian clergyman in the State, was chosen Provost. The old college was revived, for a short time, in 1789, but did not long continue, and was blended, in 1791, by legislative enactment, with the University.

The original academy and college occupied the building on Fourth Street, between Market and Arch Streets, erected by Whitfield, and long known as the Old College. In 1802 the University purchased the edifice on Ninth, between Market and Chestnut Streets, erected for the use of the President of the United States, but never occupied as such.

It was just after his return from England that Dr.

Smith presented a scheme for a Society for the "Education of Germans in America," and doubtless communicated with Conrad Weiser on the subject. To such an extent does Weiser seem to have been interested in it that, in 1754, he, personally, entered his sons Samuel and Benjamin as students in the old academy of that date. These names do not appear in the Biographical Catalogue of Matriculates published in 1894, nor in the first complete roll of students entered in the minute book, by order of the trustees, March 5, 1757, but are found in the two earliest college tuition books, up to and including the year 1769, so there can be no mistake about the fact. Most likely, the outbreak of the French and Indian War had much to do with the interruption of their studies, or Weiser may even have come to the conclusion that Dr. Smith's scheme, so far as the Germans were concerned, was not entirely devoid of hollow pretense.

Samuel Weiser, tenth child of Conrad, was born April 23, 1735. His will was probated July 8, 1794. On May 28, 1760, he married Judith Levan.

He served as captain in his father's regiment during the French and Indian War, on duty, principally, at Fort Henry. For a while he followed in his father's footsteps as Indian Interpreter, but his knowledge of the language was most too limited, and, besides, the necessity for such an office was rapidly passing away. He removed to Mahanoy Township of Northumberland County, Penna.

Benjamin Weiser, fourteenth child of Conrad, was born on August 12, 1744. During the Revolutionary War, in 1776, he was a captain in the German Regiment, commanded by Col. Nicholas Haussegger. Later on he was pursued by the phantom of recovering on his sire's possessions in the State of New York, and, in a letter of April 2,

1788, to Governor Simon Snyder, refers to the progress he had made in his claim. After the war he resided at Selinsgrove, and is recorded as a Justice of the Peace for Snyder County on January 1, 1778.

When the old White Horse Tavern, at Douglassville, Berks County, was remodelled in 1884, the original muster roll of the company of Captain Benjamin Weiser, merchant of Womelsdorf, dated October 3, 1776, was found in an old closet. It is of such interest and value that we cannot refrain from giving it to the public at this time.

OFFICERS.

<i>Captain,</i>	Benjamin Weiser.
<i>First Lieutenant,</i>	Jacob Bower.
<i>Second Lieutenant.</i>	Frederick Yeiser.
<i>Ensign,</i>	Jacob Kreamer.
<i>Sergeants,</i>	Charles Ghickner,
	Stewart Herbert,
	John Benkler,
	Joseph Miller.
<i>Corporals,</i>	Nicholas Waldman,
	George Price,
	Conrad Rohn.
<i>Drum and Fife,</i>	William Marx, on furlough.

PRIVATEES.

Adab Rosenmeisell,	Jacob Mickley,	Michael Yiesley,
Michael Regel,	John Maurst,	Joseph Romig,
Peter Schiffer,	John Derr,	William Wallman,
John Bishop,	Eborhart Moyer,	Philip Werley,
George Frick,	Casper Kealer,	John Barnheisell,
Jacob Smith,	Vincent Williams,	Conrad Freywitz,
Frederick Fresher,	John Tudro,	Baltzer Newfang,
John Heiser,	Frederick Spire,	John Henry,
Christopher Weigel,	Frederick William,	Peter Leshar,
Peter Toney,	John Portner,	Philip Killman,
Martin Rishell,	Joseph Mast,	Benjamin Servey,
Abraham Price,	Henry Seyfert,	John Snyder,
John Christman,	Adam Hull,	Jacob Lorash,
	John Razor.	



CHAPTER VI.

THE EXPLOSION OF THE MINE.



THE spark to explode the mine which showered death and destruction everywhere around it, from 1755 to 1763, came from the defeat of Braddock's Army.

While the Pennsylvania-Germans, as such, were not identified with these operations, yet the bearing which they had upon the welfare of the German settlers is so

great, and so many of these people participated in the occurrences of that vicinity a few years later, that a brief resumé of the facts connected with the events in question is almost necessary to a clear understanding of the whole.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, signed October 1, 1748, nominally closed the war between England and France,

but failed to establish the boundaries between their respective colonies in America.

The effort to enlarge their boundaries was constantly before both parties, and each ever feared that the other might succeed to its own detriment.

The Ohio Company was an association formed in Virginia, about the year 1748, under a royal grant, ostensibly to trade with the Indians, but that it was intended to be a great barrier against the encroachments of the French, is manifest. Its privileges and concessions were large and ample.

To counteract these designs of the English, the Governor-General of Canada, the Marquis de la Galissoniere, in 1749 sent Celeron down the Allegheny and Ohio Rivers, to take possession of the country in the name of the King of France. His command consisted of 215 French and Canadian soldiers, and 55 Indians of various tribes. As they went he buried, at various points, leaden plates, upon which were inscribed the date and name of place, to assert nominal possession.

In 1752 the Marquis du Quesne became Governor-General of Canada, and, early in January, 1753, sent out an expedition, consisting of three hundred men, under command of Monsieur Babeer (Babier), who was succeeded, about the end of May, by Monsieur Morin, who then arrived with an additional force of five hundred whites and twenty Indians. They built, on the site of the present city of Erie, the first fort, which was named "Presqu' Isle." Continuing to the site of the present village of Waterford, Erie County, Pa., they built a second fort, similar to the first but smaller, which was named LeBoeuf. The season being then late instead of erecting a third fort, as was intended, they garrisoned the two already completed and returned to Canada.

Viewing with alarm these occurrences the Governor of Virginia sent George Washington, late in 1753, to demand of the French an explanation of their designs, who was told that the matter would be laid before the Governor-General of Canada for reply, but that, in the meantime the French would hold the country as ordered.

In January, 1754, a company of militia was authorized by Virginia to cooperate with the Ohio Company in their occupancy of the territory. William Trent was commissioned captain, John Frazer, who had his trading house at Turtle Creek on the Monongahela, after being driven from Venango, was appointed Lieutenant, and Edward Ward as Ensign. They arrived at the Forks of the Ohio on February 17th, and proceeded to lay out the ground and to have some logs squared and laid. Their tenure, however, was short. In the absence of both Captain and Lieutenant, the French suddenly appeared in great force, on April 16, 1754, under Contrecoeur, and obliged surrender.

With the early spring the French again began operations, and built their third fort at Lake Erie, in April, 1754, which was named Fort Machault. The English usually referred to it as the French fort at Venango. It was not so large a work as either of the other two.

This part of the operations of the French was, properly speaking, only the preparation for what they had in view; the real work was to be done at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. Here they erected a fortification, which was strengthened from time to time as danger of attack increased. This was called Fort Duquesne, in honor of their Governor-General in Canada.

Orders were immediately despatched by the British cabinet, to the various Governors of the Provinces, direct-

ing them to resort to force in defence of their rights, and to drive the French from their station on the Ohio.

The duty to carry on active operations against the French thus devolved upon Virginia. Washington, having been commissioned a Lieut.-Colonel by Governor Dinwiddie, was sent, with one hundred and fifty men to take command at the Forks of the Ohio, finish the fort already begun there by the Ohio Company, and to make prisoners, kill or destroy all who interrupted the English settlements. With great difficulty, and against many obstacles, he succeeded in reaching the Great Meadows, which became the subsequent locality of Fort Necessity. Learning that a detachment of fifty of the enemy were in his vicinity he immediately marched against them, attacked and defeated them, in the darkness of the morning of May 28th, 1754. His prisoners were taken to the Great Meadows and thence across the mountains.

So soon as the news of this engagement had reached Fort Duquesne a strong party was organized to advance against Washington, who promptly enlarged his entrenchments and erected palisades, naming his stockade "Fort Necessity." Of the fight which followed, against vastly superior forces, and the heroic defense which was made, followed by unavoidable capitulation, no more need be said, as it is a familiar recital. At daybreak, on the Fourth of July, the garrison filed out of the fort, with colors flying and drums beating, and one swivel gun. The English flag on the fort was struck and the French ensign took its place; and when the little army of Washington had passed over the mountains homeward, the lilies of France floated over every fort, military post and mission from the Alleghenies westward to the Mississippi.

In anticipation of an early campaign, by the English

and Colonists, the force at Duquesne was very largely increased during the late fall of 1754. At one time it is probable there were at least one thousand regular soldiers there with several hundred Indians of various tribes. The aggressive campaigns, however, which opened in 1755 against Niagara and Crown Point, necessitated the retention in Canada of many troops, so that, at the time of Braddock's defeat, the garrison consisted of but a few companies of regulars, to which were added a considerable number of Canadians, and some eight hundred Indian warriors.

Aggressive operations having been decided upon, on November 25, 1754, Major General Edward Braddock was commissioned General-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in North America. He sailed, on January 14, 1755, from Cork for America, with the Forty-fourth and Forty-eighth Regiments of royal troops, each consisting of five hundred men, one of them commanded by Col. Dunbar and the other by Sir Peter Halket. He arrived at Alexandria, in Virginia, on the 20th of February. With the addition of provincials from Virginia and Maryland, and two independent companies from New York, he finally crossed the Allegheny Mountains, between May 27 and June 9, at the head of two thousand two hundred men, well armed and supplied, with a fine train of artillery, accompanied by some two hundred Indians.

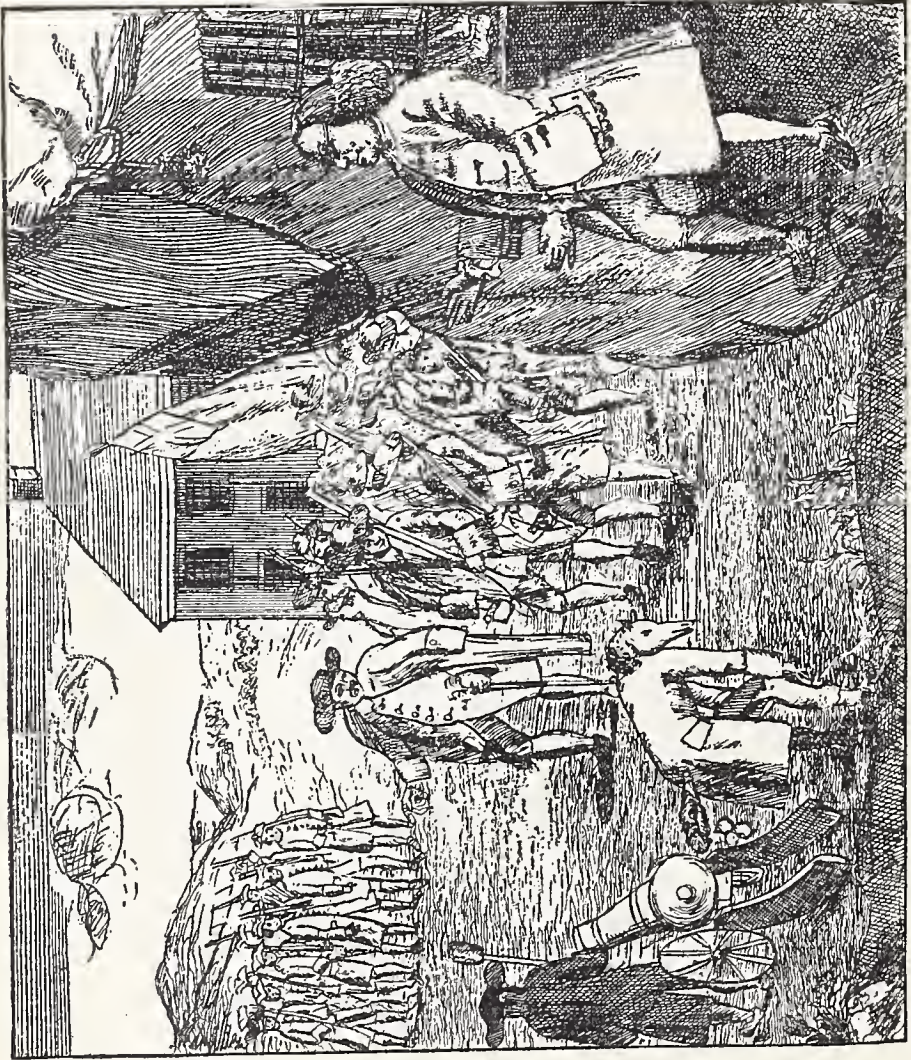
The rest of the sad story is not germane to our subject. Bringing with him exaggerated ideas of discipline, entirely inapplicable to the wilderness into which he was plunging; with feelings of superiority over the colonists, which prevented him from taking well meant advice based upon a full knowledge of existing conditions; advancing upon a campaign as though it were in the heart of civilized Eu-

rope, but one result lay before him. Braddock's Defeat has become a byword in the mouth of every American school child. Of the brave men who went into battle seven hundred and fourteen were killed; sixty-four, out of eighty-five officers were either killed or wounded; every field officer, and every one on horseback, except Colonel Washington, who had two horses killed under him and four bullets through his coat, was either slain or carried from the field disabled by wounds. The loss, on the side of the French, and their allies, was three officers, twenty-five soldiers, Canadians, or Indians, with about as many wounded.

When the storm actually burst upon the Province of Pennsylvania it was found to be totally unprepared. This condition was not owing to lack of warning, nor for want of appeal and entreaty. So early as 1740 a petition was forwarded to the King himself, requesting him to see that the Province was placed in a proper state of defence. A discussion of the subject was kept up until 1744, the Assembly constantly claiming that there was no need for such action, and the final result was, as may be anticipated, of no real value. The only thing actually done, by either Governor or Assembly, to save the helpless settlers, was an appropriation of £1,000 by the latter, on August 22, with which Fort Morris, at Shippensburg, and Fort Lowther, at Carlisle, were erected, and a supply of arms and ammunition purchased, chiefly for use in Cumberland, York and Lancaster counties.

It is true that on July 26, immediately upon the receipt at Philadelphia of the news of Braddock's defeat, Governor Morris convened the Assembly and asked for pecuniary aid. Two days later, this was granted him by a bill entitled, "An Act for raising Fifty thousand pounds

for the King's use by a Tax of Twelve pence per pound and twenty shillings per Head, Yearly for two Years, on all the Estates real and personal, and Taxables within this



COTEMPORANEOUS CARICATURE. — The Quaker remains inactive, but expects to derive advantage from the war no matter who may win.

Province." Here was the difficulty. A tax on *all* property included, of course, the estates of the proprietaries, which formed a very large part of the whole. To this

the Governor, acting in their behalf and by their instructions, would not agree, claiming that the lands were not taxable, and, being unprofitable, should not in reason be taxed. The Assembly, with Benjamin Franklin as its leader, thought differently, and each accused the other of insincerity.

During the lengthy discussion which followed, the blow of the savage actually fell, and, by November, the public feeling had arisen to so high a pitch that many petitions and addresses were poured in upon the Assembly. Those from the frontiers were sad beyond measure, beseeching and threatening by turns. One, from the citizens of Philadelphia County, was literally a demand for immediate action, not only in the matter of money but, especially, in the establishment of a proper system of defence, while still another was from the Quakers, who cited their religious principles, claimed their willingness to give their full share of all that might be needed for the ordinary support of the Government, but pleaded for the defeat of any grant for purposes of war. Both parties, however, refused to cede a single point, until, at long last, on November 24, a gift of £5,000 was received from the proprietaries, sent by them immediately upon hearing of the disaster to General Braddock, whereupon the Assembly at once passed an amended act granting £55,000 while exempting from taxation the proprietary estates.

In connection with this, however, on November 25th the Assembly formulated and enacted a "militia law," to continue in force until October 30, 1756. As this largely took the appointing power out of the hands of the Governor another deadlock occurred, but, to the credit of the latter it must be said that, actuated by the sufferings of the people, he relinquished, for the time at least, his

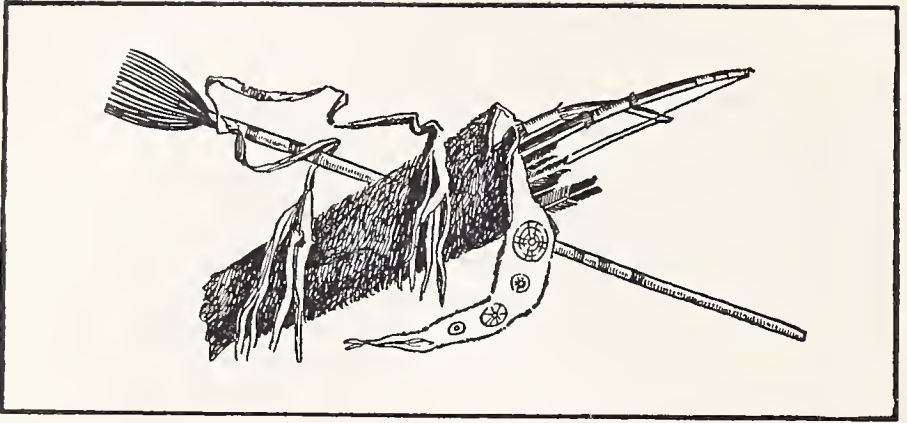
claims, and promptly approved the bill in its original form.

Although these disagreements, between Governor and Assembly kept cropping out constantly, during the entire war, much to the detriment of the Province and to the hardship of the soldiers, yet, after the passage of the Act just named, a well-ordered system of defense was promptly put into effect, of which we will learn more hereafter.

At the point which we have now reached it is well to bear in mind the fact that, by order of their masters, the Six Nations, the Delaware Indians were forced to occupy the territory some distance north of the Blue Mountains, stretching from the Susquehanna to the Delaware River, having been driven from their former homes. Their principal villages were at what was called Shamokin, near the present city of Sunbury, and were strung along to the east, at various points in the Wyoming district. Naturally hostilities started in the immediate vicinity of Shamokin. The opening shots, which were the precursors of the butchery that followed, are well described in a letter from Conrad Weiser, under date of October 28, 1755, which says: "Accounts from Paxton, October 20, that some Indians had begun hostilities on the Susquehanna, and had killed, or drove away all the inhabitants settled in the upper part of Cumberland County, at a place called Penn's Creek, about four miles south of Shamokin. Twenty-five persons, men, women, and children, killed, scalped and carried away on the 16th October; 13 killed, who were men and elderly women, and one child; the rest, being young women and children, carried away; a house burnt up. On the 23rd upwards of 40 of the inhabitants of Paxton Creek went up to bury the dead,

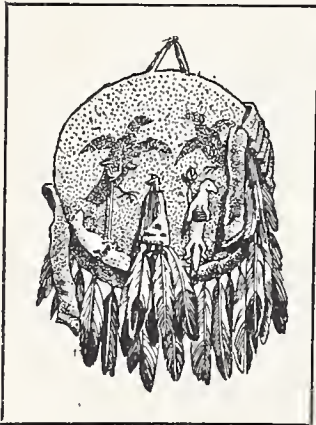
but found it done; they went on to Shamokin, to visit the friendly Indians there; stayed there all night, and in returning on the west side of the Susquehanna, in crossing the river on the morning of the 25th, at Mahanoy Creek, were fired upon by a number of Indians, that lay in the bushes. Lost several men—they killed four of the Indians. These Indians spoke the Delaware tongue.”





CHAPTER VII.

THE SWATARA AND TULPEHOCKEN MASSACRES.



THE news of the Indian murders up the Susquehanna spread fast. Conrad Weiser immediately alarmed the Tulpehocken neighborhood, whereupon the farmers at once gathered together, armed with guns, swords, axes or pitchforks, whatever they chanced to possess, until some two hundred had rendezvoused at Benjamin Spicker's, near Stouchsburg, about about six miles above Womelsdorf. Then the Rev. Mr. Kurtz, the Lutheran pastor who resided about a mile away, delivered an exhortation and prayer, after which Weiser divided the people into companies of thirty, each under command of a captain selected by themselves, and at once took up his march towards the Susquehanna, having first sent some fifty men to possess themselves of the Swatara Gap, through which it was expected the enemy would

come, and with them a letter to Wm. Parsons who happened to be at his plantation.

Their numbers increased rapidly on the way, until they arrived at Squire Adam Read's, on the Swatara Creek, where they received intelligence of the surprise and killing of the settlers, who, under the leadership of Capt. McKee, John Harris and others, had gone to Penn's Creek



to protect the people there and bury the dead. This seems, very naturally, to have dampened the ardor of the party somewhat, who began to realize how little could be accomplished by them in their present condition, and how they were foolishly leaving their own families unprotected, so they wisely determined to return, their way back being materially hastened by the rumor that five hundred Indians had already made their way through the Swatara Gap, and killed a number of people.

In the meantime the advance guard of farmers, with their motley array of arms, met Mr. Parsons, and he tells us, in a letter of October 31, to Mr. Peters at Philadelphia, how he advised them to make a breastwork of trees

at the Swatara Gap, with their axes, promising to procure and send them a quantity of bread and ammunition. They got as far as the top of the mountain, where they fired their guns off in the air, alarming the whole neighborhood, and then came back again, firing the entire way to the great terror of the inhabitants. Other brave men, inexperienced and undisciplined, have done worse under less trying circumstances.

Soon came the news of the murder of Henry Hartman, just over the mountains. As Mr. Parsons, with a party, were on their way to bury the body, they were told of two more who had recently been killed and scalped, and of others who were missing. Having decently interred the dead they returned. It was a terrible time; the roads were filled with persons fleeing from their homes, and confusion reigned supreme. In the absence of provincial forts, the settlers began the erection of stockades, watch towers, and the conversion of private houses into places of refuge. Among these were Squire Adam Read's home, of which mention has been made, Peter Heydrich's home, near the Swatara Gap, which, later, became Fort Swatara, and at Dietrich Six's place near Millersburg, later the site of Fort Henry.

Of Peter Heydrich it is related that when, on one occasion, the Indians appeared in considerable numbers, during the absence of his neighbors from their own houses, he took down his drum and fife and marched himself boldly into the woods or thickets, alternately beating the drum, blowing the fife, and giving words of command to an imaginary body of troops, by which means he managed to keep the savages away and also collect his neighbors.

The one man, who seemed best able to cope with the emergency was Conrad Weiser, to whom, on October 31,

1755, Governor Morris wrote the following complimentary letter.

“*Sir*: I have the pleasure of receiving your favor of the 30th Instant, and of being thereby set right as to the Indians passing the mountains at Tolheo (Swatara), which I am glad to find was a false alarm. I heartily commend your conduct and zeal, and hope you will continue to act with the same Vigor and Caution that you have already done, and that you have the greater authority, I have appointed you a Colonel by a Commission herewith.

“I have not time to give you any Instructions with the Commission but leave it to your Judgment and discretion, which I know are great, to do what is most for the safety of the people and service of the Crown.”

At the earliest moment Weiser departed for Philadelphia to have a consultation with the Governor. Although he returned as soon as possible it was only to meet with bad news. What happened cannot be better told than in the words of his report under date of November 19, 1755, in which he says:

“*Honoured Sir*:

“On my return from Philadelphia I met in the township of Amity, in Berks County, the first news of our cruel enemy having invaded the Country this Side of the Blue Mountains, to witt, Bethel and Tulpenhacon. I left the Papers as they were in the messengers Hands, and hasted to Reading, where the alarm and confusion was very great. I was obliged to stay that Night and part of the next Day, to witt, the 17th of this Instant, and sat out for Heidelberg, where I arrived that Evening. Soon after, my sons Philip and Frederick arrived from the Pursuit of

the Indians, and gave me the following Relation, to witt, that on Saturday last about 4 of the Clock, in the Afternoon, as some Men from Tulpenhacon were going to Dietrich Six's Place under the Hill on Shamokin Road to be on the watch appointed there, they were fired upon by the Indians but none hurt nor killed, (Our people were but Six in number, the rest being behind.) Upon which our people ran towards the Watch-house which was about one-half a mile off, and the Indians persued them, and killed and scalped several of them. A bold, Stout Indian came up with one Christopher Ury, who turned about and shot the Indian right through his Breast. The Indian dropt down Dead, but was dragged out of the way by his own Companions. (He was found next day and scalped by our People.) The Indians devided themselves in two Parties. Some came this way to meet the Rest that was going to the Watch, and killed some of them, so that six of our men were killed that Day, and a few wounded. The Night following the Enemy attacked the House of Thos. Bower, on Swatara Creek. They came to the House in the Dark night, and one of them put his Fire-arm through the window and shot a Shoemaker (that was at work) dead upon the spot. The People being extremely Surprised at this Sudden attack, defended themselves by firing out of the windows at the Indians. The Fire alarmed a neighbor who came with two or three more men; they fired by the way and made a great noise, scared the Indians away from Bower's House, after they had set fire to it, but by Thomas Bower's Diligence and Conduct was timely put out again, So Thos. Bower, with his Family, went off that night to his neighbour, Daniel Schneider, who came to his assistance. By 8 of Ye Clock Parties came up from Tulpenhacon &

Heidelberg. The first Party saw four Indians running off. They had some Prisoners whom they scalped immediately, three children lay scalped yet alive, one died since, the other two are like to do well. Another Party found a woman just expired, with a male Child on her side, both killed and scalped. The woman lay upon her Face, my son Frederick turned her about to see who she might have been and to his Companion's Surprize they found a Babe of about 14 Days old under her, rapped up in a little Cushion, his nose quite flat, which was set right by Frederick, and life was yet in it, and recovered again. Our people came up with two parties of Indians that Day, but they hardly got sight of them the Indians Ran off Immediately. Either our party did not care to fight them if they could avoid it, or (which is most likely) the Indians were alarmed first by the loud noise of our People coming, because no order was observed. Upon the whole, there is about 15 killed of our People, Including men, women and children, and the Enemy not beat but scared off. Several Houses and Barns are Burned; I have not true account how many. We are in a Dismal Situation, Some of this murder has been committed in Tulpenhacon Township. The People left their Plantation to within 6 or 7 miles from my house (located near the present town of Womelsdorf-Author) against another attack.

“Guns and Ammunition is very much wanted here, my Sons have been obliged to part with most of that, that was sent up for the use of the Indians. I pray your Honour will be pleased, if it lies in your Power, to send us up a quantity upon any Condition. I must stand my Ground or my neighbours will all go away, and leave their Habitations to be destroyed by the Enemy or our own

People. This is enough of such melancholy Account for this Time. I beg leave to conclude who am,

Sir,

Your very obedient

“ CONRAD WEISER.

“ Heidelberg, in Berks

“ County, November 19th, 1755.

“ P. S. I am creditably informed just now that one Wolf, a Single man, killed an Indian the same Time when Ury killed the other but the Body is not found yet. The Poor Young Man since died of his wound through his Belly.

“ To Governour Morris: ”

The excitement among the settlers can readily be imagined, as well as their anger against the Indians. It so happened that, on his return from Philadelphia, Weiser was escorting several friendly Indians, on their return to Shamokin. The presence of these red skins at Tulpehocken came near being too much for the unreasoning people of the locality. It was with difficulty that Weiser succeeded in spiriting them away, and even in saving his own life. His experience, in that direction, is given in another letter to the Governor which followed immediately on the heels of his first one:

“ *May it please the Governor:*

“ That night after my Arrival from Philadelphia, Emanuel Carpenter and Simon Adam Kuhn, Esq's, came to my House, and lodged with me. They acquainted me that a meeting was appointed (of the People of Tulpenhacon & Heidleberg and adjacent places) in Tulpenhacon Township at Benjamin Spicker's early next morning. I made all the hast with the Indians I could, and gave them

a Letter to Thos. McKee, to furnish them with necessities for their journey. Scarujude had no Creature to ride on. I gave him one. Before I could get down with the Indians 3 or 4 Men came from Benja. Spicker's to warn the Indians not to go that way, for the People were so enraged against all the Indians, & would kill them without Distinction, I went with them; so did the Gentlemen before named. When we came near Benjamin Spicker's I saw about 400 or 500 men, and there was a loud noise, I rode before, and in riding along the Road (and armed men on both Sides of the Road) I heard some say, why must we be killed by the Indians and we not kill them! Why are our Hands so tied? I got the Indians to the House with much adoe, where I treated them with a small Dram, and so parted in Love and Friendship. Capt'n Diefenback undertook to conduct them (with five other men) to Susquehannah. After this a sort of a Counsel of warr was held by the officers present, the before named and other Freeholders. It was agreed that 150 men should be raised immediately to serve as outscouts, and as Guards at Certain Places under the Kittitany Hills for 40 Days. That those so raised to have 2 Shillings a Day, & 2 Pound of Bread, 2 Pounds of Beaff and a Jill of Rum, and Powder & Lead. (Arms they must find themselves). This Scheme was signed by a good many Freeholders and read to the People. They cried out that so much for an Indian Scalp they would have (be they Friends or Enemies), from the Governor. I told them I had no such power from the Governor nor Assembly. They begun some to Curse the Governor; some the Assembly; called me a Traitor of the Country who held with the Indians, and must have known this murder before hand. I sat in the House by a Lowe window, some of my

Friends came to pull me away from it, telling me some of the People threatened to shoot me. I offered to go out to the People and either Pasesfy them or make the King's Proclamation; But those in the House with me would not let me go out. The cry was, The Land was betrayed and sold. The Comon People From Lancaster County were the worst. The wages they said was a Trifle and said some Body pocketed the Rest, and they would resent it. Some Body had put it into their Head that I had it in my Power to give them as much as I pleased. I was in Danger of being Shot to Death. In the mean Time a great smoke arose under Tulpenhacon Mountain, with the news following that the Indians had committed murder on Mill Creek (a false alarm) and set fire to a Barn, most of the People Ran, and those that had Horses Rode off without any Order or Regulation. I then took my Horse and went Home, where I intend to stay, and defend my own House as long as I can. There is no Doings with the People without a Law or Regulation by the Governor and Assembly. The people of Tulpenhacon all fled; till about 6 or 7 miles from me some few remains. Another such attack will lay all the country waste on the west side of Schuylkill.

“ I am,

“ Sir,

“ Your most obedient.”

There was no intention, however, on the part of Weiser, to rest quietly and allow matters to take their own course. He promptly called together several of the prominent men of the locality for consultation. In the absence of any action by the government, worthy of mention, and without means of their own for defense, their first duty seemed to be to spur on the former to do something, and

do it in a systematic way. Therefore, on November 24 the following statement was forwarded:

“Honoured Sir:

“We the Subscribers thereof, being met together to think on means how to withstand our cruel Indian Enemy, thought fit to acquaint your Honour of the miserable Condition the Back Inhabitants of these parts are in:

“ (1st) Since the last cruel murder committed by the Enemy most of the People of Tulpenhacon have left their Habitation; Those in Heidelberg moves their effects. Bethel Township is entirely deserted.

“ (2d) There is no Order among the People; one cries one Thing, and another another Thing. They want to force us to make a Law, that they should have a Reward for every Indian which they kill; They demand such a Law of us, with their Guns Cocked, pointing it towards us.

“ (3d) The People are so incensed, not only against our cruel Enemy the Indians, but also (we beg leave to inform you Honour) against the Governor and Assembly, that we are afeared they will go down in a Body to Philadelphia and comit the vilest Outrages. They say they will rather be hanged than to be butchered by the Indians, as some of their Neighbours have been lately, and the Poverty that some are in is very great.

“ (4) Yesterday we sent out about Seventy men to the mountains to take Possession of several Houses, and to range the Woods along the mountain in Berks County, on the west Side of Schuylkill. The same Number are sent to the back Parts of Lancaster County, we Promised them two Shillings a Day, two Pounds of Bread, two Pound of Beaff, and a Jill of Rum a Day, and Ammunition, and that for forty Days, or till we shall receive your

Honours Order. We persuaded ourselves Your Honour will not leave us in the Lurch; We must have done such a Thing or else leave our Habitation. If no worse; and all this would not do, we and others of the Freeholders have been obliged to promise them a Reward of four Pistoles for every Enemy Indian man they should kill. Many things more we could mention but we don't care to Trouble your Honour any Farther, do therefore conclude, and beg leave to Subscribe ourselves,

“Honoured Sir,

“Your very humble Servants,

“CONRAD WEISER

“EMANUEL CARPENTER

“ADAM SIMON KUHN

“P. S. I cannot forbear to acquaint your Honour of a certain Circumstance of the late unhappy Affair: One — Kobel, with his wife and eight children, the eldest about fourteen Years and the Youngest fourteen Days, was flying before the Enemy, he carrying one, and his wife and a Boy another of the Children, when they were fired upon by two Indians very nigh, but hit only the man upon his Breast, though not Dangerously. They, the Indians, then came with their Tomhacks, Knocked the woman down, but not dead. They intended to kill the Man, but his Gun (though out of order so that he could not fire) kept them off. The woman recovered so far, and seated herself upon a Stump, with her Babe in her Arms, and gave it Suck, and the Indians driving the children together, and spoke to them in High Dutch, be still we won't hurt you. Then they struck a Hatchet into the woman's Head, and she fell upon her Face with her Babe under her, and the Indians trod on her neck and tore off her scalp. The children then run; four of them were

scalped, among which was a Girl of Eleven Years of Age, who related the whole Story; of the Scalped, two are alive and like to do well. The Rest of the children ran into the Bushes and the Indians after them, but our People coming near to them, and hallowed and made noise; The Indians Ran, and the Rest of the Children were saved. They ran within a Yard by a woman that lay behind an Old Log, with two children, there was about Seven or Eight of the Enemy.

“ I am

“ Honoured Sir,

“ Your obedient,

“ C. WEISER

“ I intend to send a wagon down to Philadelphia for Blankets and other necessaries for the People, on their Guard under the mountain, and I hope it will be then in your Honour's Power to supply us.”

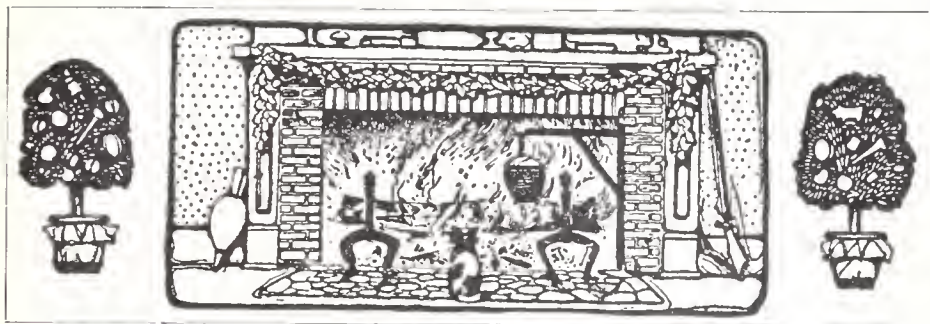
The Governor was fully aroused by these horrible atrocities, and endeavored to perform his duty. It would be unjust to him were we not, in concluding this record, to recite a portion of his letter of November 27 to General Shirley, as follows:

“ *Dear Sir:*

“ Since writing the Letter Herewith I have received Intelligence that the Indians have cross'd the Sasquehanna, and fallen upon the inhabitants to the Southward of the mountains at and near a place called Tulpilhockin, about sixty miles from here, where they had, when the express came away, Burnt several houses and killed such of the inhabitants as could not escape from them. The settlement they are now destroying is one of the finest in the Province, the Lands are very Rich and well improved.

My Assembly have now been sitting ever since the 3d Instant, but have done nothing for the defence of the Province, nor raised any supplies. The Bill they have proposed for that purpose, being of the same kind of one I had before refused to pass and which they know I have no power by my Commission to pass it. Such a Conduct while the Country is bleeding, seems to me to merit the severest censure."





CHAPTER VIII.

REGINA, THE GERMAN CAPTIVE.



THE events just related were but a part of the terrible occurrences in the Tulpehocken region during the fall of 1755. Among those hitherto unrecorded, is one told by the Hon. D. C. Henning, of Pottsville, who received it from Daniel Ney, a resident of Summit Station in Schuylkill County, and over eighty years of age at

the time. Mr. Ney's great-grandfather was one of the early settlers of the locality. His grandfather and granduncle, Michael, were both youths at the time when the incident occurred. One day, in the fall, the two brothers drove to the woods, along the mountain, with a team and skeleton wagon, to take home a load of fire wood for the winter, which they had previously cut and prepared. Michael rode on one of the horses while his brother was seated on the wagon. When they reached the place for

loading, two Indians sprang out from the bushes and each attacked his intended victim. During the scuffle that ensued the Indian, who had attacked Michael, was being worsted, and the other, who had attacked the relator's grandfather, seeing this, dealt his victim a stunning blow on the head, knocking him insensible for the time; he then went to the assistance of the other, and the two together killed Michael. Meanwhile the grandfather regained consciousness, but, finding himself unable to do anything, he feigned death. After the savages were satisfied that they had despatched Michael, they turned their attention to the other, but finding him, likewise, dead, as they supposed, they concluded to hide the bodies. They then scalped Michael, bound his hands and feet, stretched him on a pole, carried him away a little distance, and buried him in some leaves. The other, as soon as their backs were turned in this rude obsequy to the dead, crept away and was soon on his feet and running for his life towards home. So fearful was he that they had likewise killed all his people at home, and that the Indians might return to the house, that he hid himself away in some hay at the barn. After remaining there a long while he stole stealthily to the house, where, to his surprise and joy, he found the others all alive, but had a sad tale to tell them. The alarm was sounded, and the neighbors formed a posse, who found the body of Michael, but the Indians had fled. They followed their trail to the crest of the Blue Mountains, but the dangers attending the pursuit were too great for them to go any further. The wound inflicted on the survivor was a deep tomahawk cut on the head, but he was healed, lived to a ripe old age and left a large posterity behind him.

As early as 1750 a small settlement of Germans was

made at Orwigsburg, Schuylkill County. They were practically the first to occupy that locality. At the period of which we are writing sparse settlements had been made in the vicinity of the present town of Pine Grove, and elsewhere, both east and west. Among these was George Everhart, his wife and family of sons and daughters, who had cleared for himself some land, and built on it a home,



near what is now Pine Grove. As the Indian depredations spread eastward from the Swatara Gap they quickly reached him. Everhart was slain and scalped, together with his wife and all their children save little Margaret, then but six years of age, who was a witness to the brutal butchery that made her an orphan, friendless and homeless, for what they failed to accomplish with the tomahawk and scalping knife was wrought with the torch. Probably the attractiveness of her person had spared her life, only to be led to a hopeless captivity. Happily, in time, she was rescued by Colonel Bouquet and returned to her friends. She was married, on February 8, 1771, to John Sallada and became the ancestress of a large posterity.

The most pathetic of all tales is the comparatively well known one of Regina, the German captive, so called. It has been told in many different forms, and with many poetical embellishments. If for no other reason, it will bear telling again, and, in truth, the story of the Pennsylvania-Germans in the French and Indian War would be incomplete without it.

Our knowledge of the case is obtained from the letter of the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, which appears in the *Hallische Nachrichten*, and of which the following translation from the German has been made by the Rev. J. W. Early, of Reading, Pa.

THE TRANSLATION.

Rev. Mr. Muhlenberg's Account of Remarkable Incidents in his Administration of the Pastor's Office. Hall. N., Vol. 2, pp. 445-493.

The Twenty-sixth Incident (case), *Hall. N.*, old ed., 1029, Vol. 11, p. 479 ff.

In February, 1765, a widow and her adult daughter from Rev. Kurtz's congregation came to (see me). This visit cheered me very much because of the peculiar circumstances of the case. The widow spoken of was a native of the old and renowned Imperial City, Reutlingen, in the Duchy of Wuertemburg, and her deceased husband (was born) about twelve miles from Tuebingen. Before the war broke out in this country, they, with their small family of children, came hither and sought a home in the interior of Pennsylvania about one hundred miles from Philadelphia. The father was already advanced in years and too feeble to endure hard labor, but endeavored to instruct his children in the Word of God, because in the thinly settled country districts few schools are to be found, or none at all.

BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT.

In the summer of the year 1755 the English general Braddock with his army was defeated by the French and the hostile Indians in the wilderness, because the English fought according to European methods and the Indians after the American. Immediately thereupon the hostile savages invaded the remote districts of Pennsylvania and butchered the scattered and defenceless inhabitants, consisting mostly of poor German families, dragging their children through the trackless wilderness into captivity in their huts and caves. October 16, 1755, this fate also befell the above named Christian family, together with a number of our brethren in the faith. The mother, the widow now still living, and one of the sons, had gone to a mill a few miles distant, to secure the grinding of some grain; the father, together with the oldest son and the two little daughters, remained at home. The savages suddenly fell upon them (the house), slaying the father and the son in their usual barbarous manner. But they spared the two little girls, Barbara, twelve years of age, and Regina, going on ten, bound them, and dragged them aside into the forest, leaving several Indians to guard the children. Within a few days the others (Indians) continued to bring an additional number of captive children together.

FLIGHT OF THE MOTHER.

After the mother and son returned home from the mill, and found everything burned and in ruins, they fled further inland (down) to Rev. Pastor Kurtz's congregation. The savages now having brought a good number of children, some of them set out with them (the children) towards their own country, not by the usually travelled paths, but through rough and unsettled sections, so that they might

not be taken from them. The larger children were compelled to carry the smaller ones, who were strapped to their backs. Now they pursued their tiresome journey, barefooted, over brushes, stones, briars, undergrowth (copse), through mire and swamps. Some children's feet were worn to the quick, laying bare the bones and tendons, so that they thought they must die because of the agony and the sufferings which they endured. But they were urged on mercilessly. In going through the brushes and thickets their clothing was torn into shreds and at last fell from them altogether. When they finally reached the country inhabited by the savages they were divided among them, one being given to a family here and another to another several miles further on. It is the custom among these people, if perchance parents are deprived of their children in war, that they are replaced by captives taken by them.

END OF REGINA'S JOURNEY.

When they had now proceeded about four hundred English miles the younger ten-year-old daughter, Regina, was separated from her sister, Barbara, who had been handed over (to her family) and was compelled to go more than one hundred miles further, with a two-year-old child, which she was compelled to carry, strapped to her back. Finally Regina also reached the end of her journey, and, together with the child which she was carrying, was given over to an old ill-tempered Indian squaw, who had but one son as her support, to be her slave for life. But he (the son) oft times did not return home for a week or even a longer period, and so neglected (to provide for) his mother. In consequence of this the old woman demanded that Regina should provide sustenance, or be put to death. The little helpless infant also clung to Regina and looked to her for

comfort. They were entirely destitute of clothing, and the supply of provisions was very scant. When the worthless son was not at home Regina was expected to see to everything if she did not wish to be scolded and beaten by the old hag (Woelfin). It was, therefore, necessary for her to drag together the wood by which they were warmed. When the ground was open she looked for and dug up all manner of wild roots, *e. g.*, artichokes, garlic, etc., and gathered the tender bark of trees and vegetables to preserve the family alive. When there was frost in the ground she hunted all kinds of living creatures, such as wild rats, field mice, and other animals which she was able to capture, to satisfy the cravings of hunger.

FOR NINE LONG YEARS.

For more than nine years, she, together with the other little girl, was compelled to continue in this mode of life, not knowing whether she should ever return again.

Through the first terrible calamity, when she was deprived of her father, mother, brothers and sister, she was naturally benumbed. In the long journey, with its attendant cruelties, the deprivation of all the necessities and comforts at the hands of the savages—in continued fears and the very shadow of death, there was still room for reflection, and she could not do more than preserve an animal existence. When, however, this miserable mode of existence had become second nature, and the powers of the soul were again brought into activity, the prayers, the passages of Scripture and the sacred hymns which she had learned from her parents, became her chief delight. These divine truths were developed in her soul as a seed which begins to grow, sending its roots downward and the shoots upward, when the genial warmth of the sun

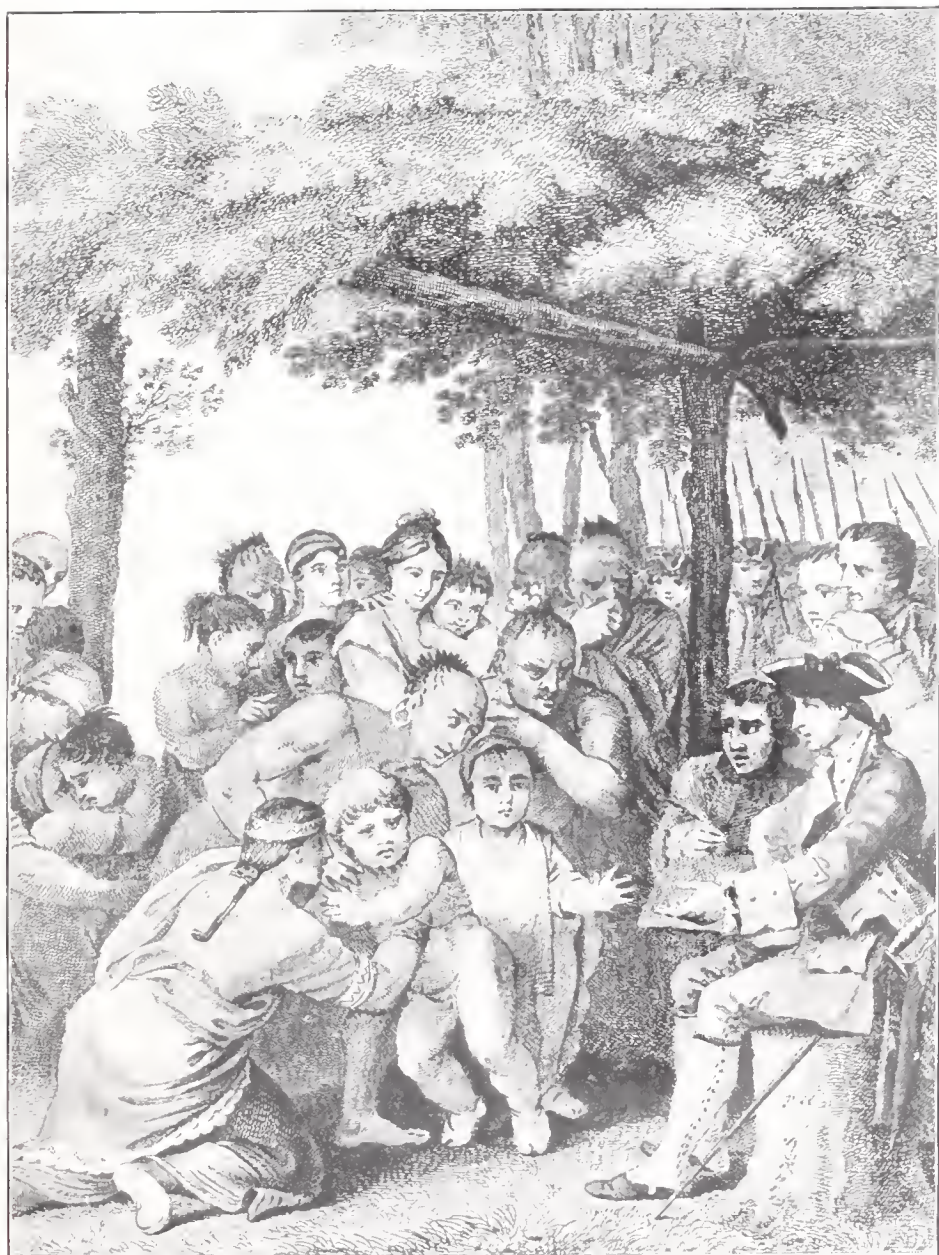
causes the earth to produce life. Thus the Word of God, learned by her, gradually expanded into life, and in her tribulation brought peace, rest and comfort to her heart. The miserable mode of living was a good assistant and means of restraint to curb the sinful flesh and its growing desires and the Word of God implanted in her tender youth could so much the more readily promote the growth of the inner life. She stated that during the period of her captivity she had offered her prayers on bended knees, under the trees, numberless times, with the child beside her, uniting in the prayer. Upon almost every occasion during the later years she had a faint assurance and a gleam of hope that she would be released from captivity and brought back to Christian people.

TWO CONSOLING HYMNS.

Among other things the two following hymns had been and still were a constant source of comfort to her: viz., "Jesus Evermore I Love," and "Alone, and Yet Not Alone Am I." When finally, during the year just passed, the fierce savages were put to flight, and their homes attacked, especially by the prudent and brave Colonel Bouquet and his victorious army, and were compelled to sue for peace, and to deliver their Christian captives, Regina and her foster child were released with others.

This was a remarkable event, viz., as a large number of captives were brought to Colonel Bouquet in the midst of the trackless wilderness, the larger part being without any clothing, a beneficent charity was manifested, not only by the Colonel himself, but also by his people, in that they cut off the flaps of their coats and waistcoats, and cut up their blankets and so on to cover the absolute nakedness of the poor creatures, it being in the midst of winter.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



What are

*the Indians delivering up the English Captives to General Brant's
warrior Camp at the Forks of Washington in North America in the year*

Then the kindhearted Colonel Bouquet first brought the larger party of former captives from the country of the savages to the English forts on the Ohio River known as Ft. Pitt. There the same spirit of sympathy and humanity was manifested by the (soldiers of) garrison. Whatever each one could spare of his scanty supply of food and clothing was bestowed upon these fellow-creatures to cover their nakedness, to protect them against the cold, and to satisfy their hunger. This manifestation of human sympathy and its effects were certainly pleasant to contemplate. For whoever could find anything superfluous in the line of clothing or covering brought it forward: *e. g.*, flaps, capes, sleeves, pockets, collars, etc., not absolutely needed—extra lengths of blankets, shirts, or cravats, etc. The officers vied with the rank and file of common soldiers in cutting and sewing. First to clothe their male fellow-creatures and afterwards to close up and patch their own garments.

BROUGHT TO CARLISLE.

From Ft. Pitt the crowd (army) of those rescued was finally brought into the province of Pennsylvania to a village named Carlisle. Notice was given in all the papers that whoever had lost friends, relatives, husband, wife or children, should be on hand and claim their own (by proper signs). Accordingly the above-mentioned poor widow with her only yet remaining son journeyed thither. She asked the Commissioners for her little daughter, Regina, describing her as she was when between nine and ten years of age. But she could find no one resembling her among the crowd. For Regina now was more than eighteen years of age, fully grown to womanhood, stout, with the bearing of an Indian, and speaking the language of the savages. The Commissioners asked the mother

whether she could not designate some characteristic by which her daughter might be known. The mother replied in German: That her daughter frequently sang the hymn "Jesus I Love Evermore," and "Alone, and Yet Not Alone Am I in My Dread Solitude."

REGINA IS RESTORED.

Hardly had the widow said this when Regina sprang from among the others and repeated the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the hymns named. Finally the mother and daughter fell upon each other's neck shedding tears of joy. The mother with her daughter whom she had again found hastened to return home. The little girl for whom Regina had cared, kept looking on and repeated the things which Regina had repeated. But no one could be found who recognized her as their own child. Hence it was thought that probably her parents had been murdered. But she was not willing to leave her foster mother and clung affectionately to Regina so that she could not be kept back.

PLEADS FOR THE BOOK.

This happened at Carlisle, December 31, 1764. In February, 1765, the widow with her daughter came to me, saying that since her return her daughter had continually pled for the book in which the Lord Jesus speaks so kindly to men and they were permitted to speak to him—meaning thereby the Bible and the hymn-book. For this purpose they had come this distance of sixty or seventy miles. A chest (or box) of Bibles had been sent in with the newly arrived ministers, Voight and Krug, and I cheerfully gave them one, together with money for the purpose of a hymn-book. As soon as she had taken the Bible—with evident pleasure—I told her to open it and to read

to me what first met her eye. She opened it at the First Chapter of Tobit and read the second verse intelligibly and impressively, viz., "The same was also taken prisoner in the time of Talmanasser (Emmeneser) King of Assyria, and although prisoner among strangers, yet did he not depart from the Word of the Lord." (This is a translation of Muhlenberg's quotation from the German Bible and not a quotation from our English verse.)

REGINA'S WONDERFUL MEMORY.

To me it seemed remarkable that she who had not seen a German book for nine years, and had not read a single syllable during that time, yet had not forgotten how to read, but could do it as well as when she was taken from her parents and carried into captivity in her tenth year. She could still understand German pretty well but could not express herself in it because in regard to matters of every day life, the Indian language had now become her mother tongue.

This again shows how necessary, profitable and advantageous are those schools in which the true Christian doctrine and the example of Christ are impressed upon the minds of the young, and implanted in their hearts. Were the sainted Luther still living and should he hear that a child from Reutlingen, a free city, which in 1530 stood up so faithfully for the Augsburg Confession, had maintained its spiritual life through the pure Word of God in this far-distant wilderness, he would again heartily praise and glorify God, confidently and trustfully singing again: "The Word they shall still let remain, and not a spark have for it."

The following four verses are taken from the touching hymn which united mother and child:

“Allein und doch nicht ganz alleine,
 Bin ich in meiner einsamkeit,
 Dann waun ich ganz verlassen scheine,
 Vertreibt mir Jesus selbst die 'zeit,
 Ich bin bey ihm, und er bey mir,
 So Kommt mirs gar nicht einsam für.”

“Komm ich zur welt, man redt von sachen,
 So nur auf eitelkeit gericht,
 Da muss sich lassen der verlachen,
 Der etwas von dem hummel spricht,
 Drum wünsch ich lieber ganz allein,
 Als bey der welt ohn Gott zu seyn.”

“Verkehrte können leicht verkehren?
 Wer greiffet pech ohn kleben an?
 Wie solt ich daun dahin begehren
 Wo man Gott bold vergessen Kann?
 Gesellschaft, die verdächtig scheint
 Und öfters nach dem fall beweint.”

* * * * *

“Wer wolte dann nun nicht erkennen
 Das ich stets in gesellschaft bin?
 Und will die welt mich einsam nennen
 So thu sie es nur immerhin,
 G'nug, das bey mir, waun ich allein
 Gott und viel tausend engel seyn.”

“Alone, and yet not all alone
 Am I, in solitude though drear,
 For when no one seems me to own,
 My Jesus will himself be near,
 I am with Him and He with me
 I therefore cannot lonely be.”

“Seek I the world? of things they speak,
 Which are on vanity intent,
 Here he is scorned and spurned as weak
 Where mind on heavenly things is bent,
 I rather would my lone way plod,
 Than share the world without my God.”

"With ease do pervers pervers make,
Who handles pitch his hands will soil,
Why then should I with those partake
Who of His honor God despoil?
Society which we suspect,
We often afterwards reject."

* * * * *

"Who will not with candor own,
I have companions all I crave?
And will the world still deem me lone?
Then let it thus forever rave.
Enough! I've God and angel's host,
Whose number can its thousands boast."

Because of the interest attached to this narrative, the location of the scene of the tragedy has been sought by various persons. It was generally supposed to have occurred on the northern confines of the present Lebanon County.

At the request of the Lebanon County Historical Society the writer of this read before its members, on April 21, 1901, a paper bearing upon the part, taken by what is now Lebanon County, in the French and Indian War, in the course of which mention was made of Regina. In December of the same year, the following item appeared in one of the daily papers:

"A movement has been started in lower Schuylkill County for the erection of a monument to Regina Hartman, the heroine of a pathetic story familiar to all.

"The ruins of the Hartman home are one of the landmarks near Orwigsburg. Regina Hartman and her mother are buried in Christ Lutheran cemetery, near Stouchsburg."

It was claimed that she was the daughter of John Hartman, born June 20, 1710.

This at once created somewhat of excitement among the good people in Lebanon County. Especially interested and active in the work of trying to get at the true facts of the case was Dr. S. P. Heilman, the efficient Secretary of the Lebanon County Historical Society. At his solicitation the writer was requested to give his opinion on the subject, which he did in the following reply:

LETTER AS TO LOCATION.

"DR. S. P. HEILMAN, Secretary,

"Lebanon County Historical Society.

"*My Dear Sir:*—I have read, with much interest, your favor of December 12, 1901, concerning the proposed memorial to be erected near Orwigsburg, Schuylkill County, to Regina Hartman, the Indian captive.

"It is very difficult to express an authentic opinion on this subject as there is a dearth of all necessary data. The Hartmans were but a poor German family, of no prominence whatever. Had it not been that the widow was thrown in contact with the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg it is quite sure their name would not have appeared on the page of history, despite their sad experience which only resembled that of many others who went down to unknown graves at the same time.

"In the *Hallische Nachrichten*, page 1029, old edition, Muhlenberg tells how the widow Hartman, accompanied by her restored daughter, Regina, called on him, in February, 1765, to procure a Bible and hymn book. He was so struck with their pathetic story that he narrates, in detail, how they emigrated from Reutlingen, Wurtemberg, to America, and settled on the frontier some hundred miles from Philadelphia, at a place where they had neighbors of the same faith and nationality as their own. Here, on

October 16, 1755, while the wife and one son had gone to the mill, the Indians murdered her husband and other son, destroyed the house by fire and dragged the daughters, Barbara and Regina, into captivity. Muhlenberg adds that the widow then 'came further down to Rev. Kurtz's congregation' (at Stouchsburg), where she felt herself to be in safety. Then follows an account of the finding and restoration of Regina, with which we are all familiar.

"As Muhlenberg's record comes from the lips of Mrs. Hartman herself we must consider it authentic. At the same time we must remember that he wrote thus to the Halle fathers not to narrate an historical fact but to state the spiritual condition of Regina who, with her mother, came weary miles to get the book which, as the girl expressed it, gave God's words to us, and that other book which would tell her how to talk to God in return. Nowhere in his letter does he give the first names of either father or sons, nor does he tell definitely where they originally located, except as given above.

"There can be hardly any question that all the authentic writings which have appeared concerning Regina have come, directly or indirectly, from Muhlenberg's record. If so, the writers, of course, knew no more about the subject than did Muhlenberg. It is said that Mr. Hartman's first name was John, and that one of the sons was named Christian, but, before admitting this as a fact, I should want to be confronted with undoubted proofs. In the same way, Orwigsburg may readily say that the family came from its locality, but I am most curious to know on what unquestioned data this claim is based.

"I am aware that the Rev. R. Weiser, in his interesting story, states that much of his data was obtained orally, having been transmitted by his grandmother to him when

he was a little boy. His whole book, however, indicates that he has drawn very fully upon his imagination and, in no case, does any sufficient evidence seem to be adduced to cover various important statements made.

"It is a fact that a small settlement of Germans was made near Orwigsburg as early as 1750, and that they were among the many sufferers during the French and Indian War. It may even be that a John Hartman was one of their number who was murdered at that time, and yet I cannot help but think that the weight of evidence is against their claim in this instance.

"In the first place, Rupp, in his 'History of Berks and Lebanon Counties,' says that the family settled on the frontier of the present Lebanon County. We know that Mr. Rupp was a careful and accurate historian, and his statement is worthy of some credence at least, especially as no one else, up to this time, has proven otherwise.

"In the next place, we can say, positively, that there is no record of the hostile Indians having reached the locality of Orwigsburg until November, or even December, 1755, while many murders were committed in and around Swatara Gap during October, and Muhlenberg says the family were killed on October 16.

"Then, again, we have a cotemporary record of the murder of Henry Hartman, in October, who lived just beyond the Swatara Gap. Those who went to bury him make no mention of his family, or a murdered son, and as they found his body lying on the floor of his home the house could hardly have been destroyed by fire. I do not claim that this was the father of Regina, although the date and name are strangely coincident, but certainly here did live a Hartman family who may have had namesakes near by.

“And lastly, we are told that the widow fled ‘further down’ to where Rev. Kurtz had his congregation in the Tulpehocken region. This is exactly where all the refugees fled who came through the Swatara Gap. It was their natural refuge. Had the Hartman family lived near Orwigsburg they would have fled either through the Gap at Port Clinton, or have crossed the mountains at Fort Franklin, some ten or twelve miles towards the Lehigh River. In that case their natural refuge would have been either Albany township of Berks County, or Reading itself.

“Of course, to a certain extent this is all conjecture, and yet, to my mind, it is good reasoning. It seems to me it leaves the balance of proof in favor of Lebanon County, and calls for undoubted facts and data from Orwigsburg before yielding the palm to them. It would be a source of great regret should they erect a monument to Regina Hartman too hastily, bringing possible reproach upon themselves, and causing a possible perversion of true history.

“I would suggest that this matter be brought before the Lebanon County Historical Society, at its coming meeting, and that authority be then given its secretary to enter into correspondence with the proper persons at Orwigsburg with a view of ascertaining from whence they obtain such undoubted data as to warrant them in taking their proposed action.

“Sincerely yours,

“H. M. M. RICHARDS.”

In accordance with this suggestion the matter was brought before the Lebanon County Historical Society, and its secretary requested to investigate in the direction mentioned. Every effort was made to open up a correspondence on the subject with the authorities at Orwigsburg,

but the efforts only resulted in failure, as no reply was received to any of the communications sent, nor could it be ascertained who was responsible for the statements made in the newspapers.

To what was then written I take the liberty of adding that Muhlenberg distinctly says "the father was already advanced in years and too feeble to endure hard labor," which could hardly apply to a man like John Hartman, who was born June 20, 1710, and would then have been but forty-five years of age.

While no reply was received from Orwigsburg at the time, yet, on February 20, 1903, the following appeared in the *Orwigsburg News*, from the pen of the Rev. H. A. Weller, which is certainly deserving of careful attention. It must be admitted that, to refute what he says, would seem to be difficult, but we are willing to leave this most interesting subject to the public for its verdict, after the succeeding chapter has been read.

"*Editor Orwigsburg News*:—Where did the tragedy which resulted in the pathetic historical story of 'Regina, the German Captive' occur?

"This question of provincial local history has again been agitated by the claims published in one of the later numbers of the valued publications of the Lebanon County Historical Society; and since I have seen no authentic general publication of the evidences which establish the *locus* of this history at Orwigsburg, it may be of interest if not of value to relate the same in your columns.

"Disclaiming all desire for controversy or criticism; moved alone by a purpose to see historical facts established upon the best attainable evidences, rather than upon 'inferences,' we call attention to the historical error of said so-

ciety arising, no doubt, from a confusion of names and places so far as relates to the residence of the family of Johannes Hartmann at the time of the massacre of members of his family, and the captivity of their little Regina.

“ This reply is challenged by an article on the subject from the pen of its estimable secretary, Dr. S. P. Heilman, published in the general publication of the Lebanon County Historical Society, and a supporting article in the same publication from the facile pen of that usually painstaking and considerate authority in matters of local history, Mr. H. M. M. Richards, in which the long ceded claims of Orwigsburg, Schuylkill County, Pa., as the place of the tragedy in the Hartman family, October 16, 1755, are called into question, and an attempt made by ‘ inferences ’ and ‘ probabilities ’ to show that the occurrence to which the Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg from the lips of the mother of Regina Hartmann testifies in *Hallische Nachrichten*, 1029 (Mann’s edition, Vol. II., p. 479) and from the pathetic incidents connected therewith, as related to him in boyhood days by his grandmother, the Rev. R. Weiser, in 1856, published an embellished narrative of ‘ Regina, the German Captive,’ took place in the vicinity of Swatara Gap, in Lebanon County, Pa.

“ In advancing these claims it is to be noted that the writer of the chief article for the Historical Society, especially, bases his statements of fact largely upon admitted ‘ inferences ’ and ‘ presumed ’ probabilities to establish evidence of an historical fact, a questionable practice always, to say the least, where history and its incidents are to be written. In this they have unfortunately fallen into the same error which some years since trapped some of the local historians of the vicinity of Bern, in Berks County, Pa., by an instinct of pardonable pride, to claim that the

Hartman tragedy was enacted near the Schuylkill Gap, in the Blue Mountains, southward from where is now Port Clinton, Pa., and which bore traces of probability as strong at least as those of the claimants for Lebanon County.

“Wanting better historical evidence we might let the claimants from Berks and Lebanon Counties dispute this matter out, and their claims of probability were equally warranted by inferences with a slight advantage perchance to Lebanon, arising from the established fact that an Indian massacre did occur in the vicinity of Swatara Gap about the same time (*Penna. Archives*); and Conrad Weiser mentions among others, the residence of a man named Hartman in that locality at the time, who could not be found after the massacre.

“But why take valuable space in an attempt to refute claims of a mere ‘probability’ or to answer and debate ‘inferences’ which, for lack of better historical data, led the Historical Society to accept and publish the papers above referred to as establishing history? Suffice it to submit a simple statement of a few established facts, and note a few of the sources of information that have for years been accepted as sufficient evidence to establish the fact that this tragedy and its incidents really did occur in Schuylkill (then Berks) County, where Orwigsburg now is.

“1. The report of Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (*Hallische Nachrichten*, 1029), that Johannes Hartmann and his family had made their home ‘in northern Berks, about one hundred miles distant from Philadelphia.’ This unsupported, might equally apply to the claims of the writers for Lebanon County.

“2. The statement of Rev. R. Weiser, in ‘Regina, the German Captive,’ that his grandmother, then residing at Womelsdorf, Pa., had often related the story of the trag-

edy which befell the Hartmann family, and the pathetic incident of the captivity and return of Regina, which he later embellished and caused to be published; and always had his relator mentioned Orwigsburg as the place where the massacre occurred. This, unsupported, might well be confuted by Rev. Weiser's own later statement that he had no certain or circumstantial information as to the *locus*.

"3. The records of Zion's Church, in West Brunswick Township, one and a half miles distant southeastwardly from Orwigsburg, and spoken historically as 'Die Zion's Kirche, ueber den Blauen Bergen, on der Skoolkil in Berks' (*vid. Lutheran Observer*, Vol. LIX, No. 2, p. 3), relate how in the 'fall' of the year 1755—the settlers having just finished building and dedicating their first 'log church' during the summer—'The wild heathen of the wilderness' came upon the communities in this section with tomahawk, gun and fire, massacreing the people and laying their homes in ashes. It was at this time that their 'log church,' where Zion's Church now stands, was burned to the ground; and history speaks of the flight of those who could escape across the Blue Mountains in Maxatawny and Bern Townships, Berks County, as 'the skedaddle.' These ancient records have never been disputed, though, it is true, Muhlenberg made no report of the existence of this church to Halle, which is readily accounted for when the fact is considered that the pastor who assisted these early settlers was one of those not in affiliation with the work of the Pioneer of the Synod of Pennsylvania, and usually termed 'vagabond preachers who stir the water for the loaves and fishes.' Be this as it may, accurate and accepted accounts of the building, dedication, and destruction of that first 'log church' were recorded when after 'the skedaddle' of the fall and winter of 1755, the sur-

vivors of those horrors returned and rebuilt their church on the same spot; and this record, some of it only fragmentary now, is still in the archives of the church. Unfortunately for our immediate purpose the membership record, if any existed in 1755, has been lost, but what is there is sufficient to all seekers for historical data to establish the fact that 'in the fall of the year 1755' a frightful massacre by the wild Indians was enacted in the immediate vicinity of the present town of Orwigsburg.

"4. In the printed memoirs of Father Daniel Deibert (born 1802), published at Schuylkill Haven, Pa., 1884, there is a succinct account of how his grandfather, Wilhelm Deibert (Deiver), who came with his parents to America, landing at Philadelphia, when Wilhelm was three years old, and resided with them later in their 'settlement' in Bern Township, Berks County, Pa., together with his brother Michael Deibert, when they had grown up, came to Manheim Township (now Schuylkill County), and in the year 1744, 'took up' 300 acres of land in the present North Manheim Township, on the road leading from Schuylkill Haven to Landingville, where are now the farms of Edward Peale and John Filbert, respectively, about two miles southwestwardly from Orwigsburg. How, afterwards, his own father, John, bought 144 acres of land in said township, at the place just westward from Orwigsburg, where is now the James Deibert homestead. Incidentally telling how when Daniel, the writer, was a child four or five years old, his father and mother were clearing land, and used to take the cradle along and the three children into the woods, and 'I, the oldest, would keep the locusts from the cradle where the baby rested.' (Let it be noted that this was next to or near the former Hartmann plantation.) At the age of twenty-one, says

the writer, 'I worked for my Uncle George Deibert, for six dollars per month, living with him at the time; he was sick at the time and died while I was there. My grandfather Deibert was living with him at that time. He worked at weaving then. He told me many stories about the Indians, how they molested them when they first settled here.'

And, now, quoting from this volume of the 'Story of the life of Daniel Deibert,' let another render the account of the family of Johannes Hartmann, at Orwigsburg: 'Nearly at the same time, or a few years earlier than my grandfather settled here in Schuylkill County, a German family by the name of Hartmann came from Europe and settled at the place where Orwigsburg now stands. The family consisted of the parents and four children, two boys and two girls. They were a pious and god-fearing family. They went to work and prospered well. One day, in the fall of 1755, Hartmann and his eldest son were to finish their sowing. Mrs. Hartmann and the youngest son went to the mill to get some grist done, but little they thought that this should be the last time that they should see each other in this world. At noon, when they were eating dinner, a band of Indians came, fifteen in number, and killed Hartmann and his eldest son; plundered the house, then set it on fire. The two girls they took along as victims. Towards evening when Mrs. Hartmann came home she found her buildings all in ashes. They burned the bodies of Hartmann and his son; even the dog, they threw him into the flames and burned him. The two girls, as above mentioned, they took along, and another little girl, only about three years old, that they took along as victim from a family named Smith. They murdered the father of that family in the morning, the same day they

came to Hartmann's; the girls they took along bare-foot, and soon their feet got sore that they could hardly walk any more; the oldest of the girls got sick and could go no farther, then they killed her with the tomahawk. The other two girls, they wrapped their feet with old cloth and took them along to their camp. Mrs. Hartmann was very much troubled about her husband and children; some hunters found the body of the eldest daughter and buried her. She could comfort herself better over them that were dead than over the one she knew was among the Indians. She was a praying and God-fearing woman, and prayed God that He would restore the child to her again; but the years passed on and sometimes she heard that children were taken from the Indians, then she went to see whether she could find her lost daughter. One time she went as far as Pittsburg, but all in vain. So nine long and dreary years passed away, and she prayed to God for her lost daughter. One day a man brought her a message that a great many children were taken from the Indians and they were in the care of Colonel Boquet at Carlisle. As soon as she heard it she expected to find her long lost daughter there, so she started for Carlisle; when she came there the children were all presented to her but she could not recognize one that might be her daughter; so she spoke to some of them but got no answer, for they could only speak the Indian language. With a heavy heart she thought she had to go home again without her daughter. The Colonel asked her whether she could sing a German hymn they used to sing in their family at home. Then she commenced and sang the hymn: "Allein und doch nicht ganz allein bin ich," meaning in English, "Alone and yet not all alone am I." Then a grown up girl sprang to her, fell around her neck and kissed her, and recognized her as her

dear mother. No pen can describe the joy when they recognized each other again. What a blessing it is when parents sing and pray in their families with their children. Near Landingville, at the farm now owned by Daniel Heim, the Indians also took a sister of Martin Woerner along 'as a victim,' etc.

"Speaking of the 'skeedaddle' of the settlers, Daniel Deibert says: 'My grandfather and his brother, Michael, had to flee over the Blue Mountains to their father's home. They buried their implements on the other side of the Schuylkill River in the woods, that the Indians could not get them; but when they came back they did not find them any more, and they did not find them till the Schuylkill Canal was made, then they dug them out.'

"Among the other accounts of Indian maraudings in those fearful years, 1755-65, Daniel Deibert also mentions the murder of the family of John Finscher, a year later than the massacre of Hartmann and his son, George. This might not be germane here but for the establishment of the fact that it was to John Finscher's mill, at where is now Schuylkill Haven, that Mrs. Hartmann had gone with her little son, Christian, on that eventful day when Hammaoslu (the tiger's claw) led his savage band down upon the peace of her heart and home, and Pottowasnos (the boat pusher) carried the shrieking children into the forest journey of their awful captivity. (Vid. *Penna. Archives*, Vol. III, pp. 30 and 36, for account of Captain John Morgan and James Reed, Esq., *in re* the murder of Finscher Family.)

"Captain D. C. Henning, in his 'Tales of the Blue Mountains' (1897), well said that 'the antiquarian of the future in following the trail of civilization and of empire on its westward way will linger long among these

mountains of Schuylkill County and find a field for thought and wonderment,' and, we venture to add, not the least of the tales of the first thousand battle grounds that mark the wake of the irresistible campaign of the westward march will be that of the valley next beyond the Blue Mountains in Pennsylvania and its cross-valley—the Schuylkill—where the savage red-man, stirred to the quick by the memory of their chiefs being made drunken and cheated and taken advantage of in purchases of land, and aroused to a hope of redress when the proud Braddock had fallen in July, 1755, made a stand yet scarce recognized in history; and around the vicinity of that old 'Red Church' (Zion's), the future historian will find the deeds enacted, like the massacre of Hartmann, and the nobility of fortitude born like that in the breast of Magdalena Hartmann, that roused lethargic pulses to quicken with the fire that relentlessly pursued and inch by inch drove the savage 'wild heathen of the forest' beyond the confines of the State. And, it may have been prayers like those nine-year-long cries of a widowed mother, that caused heaven to prosper the world-famed battle cry of 'Westward, Ho!' which rose lambent over the ashes of pioneers such as these in the valley 'ueber den Blauen Bergen an der Skoolkyll in Berks.'

"It is not meet that I lengthen this paper; for my purpose is only to bid other historical searchers to examine the evidences; first, from the mouth of Magdalena Hartmann, by the pen of Muhlenberg, that the tragedy really occurred; second, not to cast aside the evidences of the massacre which really occurred in this county about Orwigsburg in 1755–1765, as authenticated by the records of the first church in the valley next beyond the mountains as well as the historical archives of the State; and, third, to

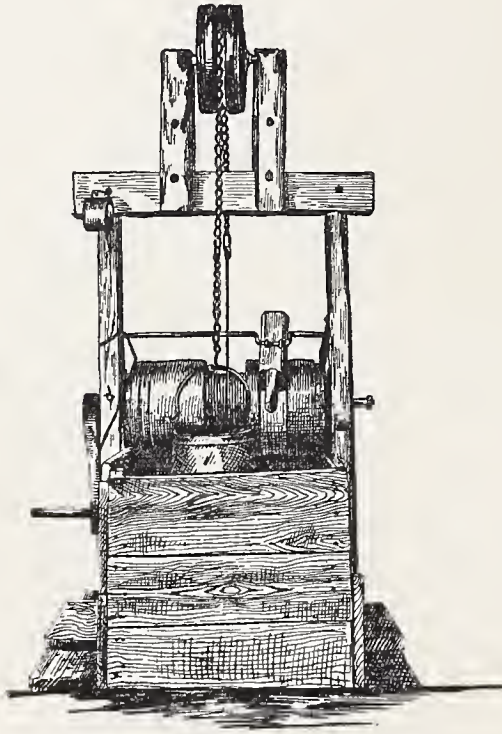
inform themselves whether there may not be corroborative evidence like that of the Deiberts, who were the next door neighbors of Johannes Hartmann and his family, before they accept as conclusive of error the statement of a writer who while he asserts that he had no conclusive proof or circumstantial evidence, yet his grandmother (who, by the way, knew Magdalena Hartmann personally in her later years) had told him the story of Regina and the home in Orwigsburg.

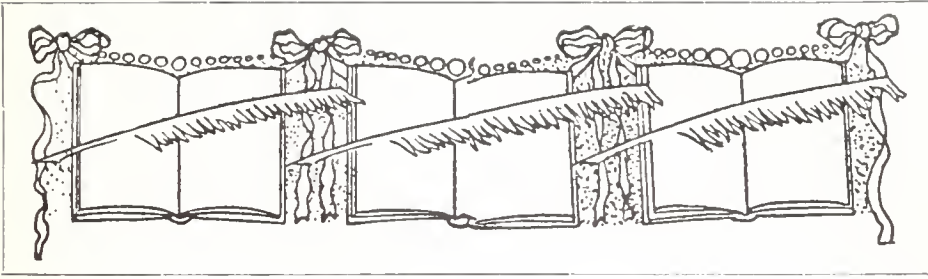
“Let the searcher for historic truth come and sit with us on the edge of the well that springs where stands the great old pine tree with its corona of a few branches high in the air, about a block or square northward from where the spire of St. Paul’s Lutheran Church also points upward to the throne of Him who heard and answered Magdalena Hartmann’s prayers for the safe return of Regina; and, as we sit, we will dip and drink deep a cooling draught from the crystal sparkling spring, while in vision entranced we look and see once again the ending search of nine long years, and behold the released captive Sawquehanna (White Lilly, Regina’s Indian name) half dispirited by surrounding strangeness come over the hills from Carlisle with her mother at one hand and her Koloska (the Short-legged Bear, Indian name of Susan Smith, her companion in captivity) at the other, until rising over the crest of the last hill that overlooks this sacred spot, the conscious revelation bursts upon the memory-curtained mind, as with hand uplifted and face lit up, she cries: ‘Washock! Washock!’ the green tree! the green tree! where she and her sister and mother had spent many happy hours in early childhood. Then the weary heart of the captive remembered and realized that it was at home with mother. And when the witchery of that historic spot with its halo of the story

of Regina shall hold us bound a moment longer ere it vanishes, we shall be convinced that 'the wine of sacrifice was not poured in vain when it was poured to preserve that heritage that cost our forefathers and our motherhood the fearful price they paid for it.'

"Cordially yours,

"H. A. WELLER."





CHAPTER IX.

THE NARRATIVE OF BARBARA LEININGER.



HAVING told in full the story of Regina, the German captive, as it has been given the public for many years, with all the *pros* and *cons* bearing upon its location, it might be supposed that no more could be said on the subject, and yet what follows is the most interesting part of the tale, as, for

the first time, it gives us the real name of Regina, the real location of the family, and the true facts of the case, from the lips of one of the actors in the tragedy.

The writer had from childhood heard that the family name of Regina was Hartman. In time this name became so familiarly impressed upon his memory that he no longer questioned its correctness. It is only another evidence of the fact, which has before this presented itself to him, that the historian has no right to take anything for granted. It is his business to ascertain the truth. While carefully searching the *Pennsylvania Archives*, quite recently, he was more than astonished, upon reading the narrative about to be given, to notice that it referred to Regina and

her sister, that the name was not Hartman at all, but, instead, Leininger, and that the family was located near the site of the present town of Selinsgrove, at the West Branch of the Susquehanna. It so completely upset all preconceived beliefs on the subject that an investigation followed at once. When this was carefully made, all was clear enough. Reference to Muhlenberg's letter will show that he *does not give the family name* of the widow and her daughter; in addition to that we know the massacre took place on October 16, 1755, *the very day of the massacre at Penn's Creek, the first which occurred anywhere, and some time before those of Swatara, Tulpehocken or Orwigsburg.*

THE
NARRATIVE
OF
MARIE LE ROY
AND
BARBARA LEININGER
WHO SPENT THREE AND ONE-HALF YEARS AS PRISONERS AMONG THE INDIANS,
AND ARRIVED SAFELY IN THIS CITY ON THE SIXTH OF MAY.
WRITTEN AND PRINTED AS DICTATED BY THEM
PHILADELPHIA
PRINTED AND FOR SALE IN THE GERMAN PRINTING OFFICE
SIX PENCE PER COPY
MDCCLIX

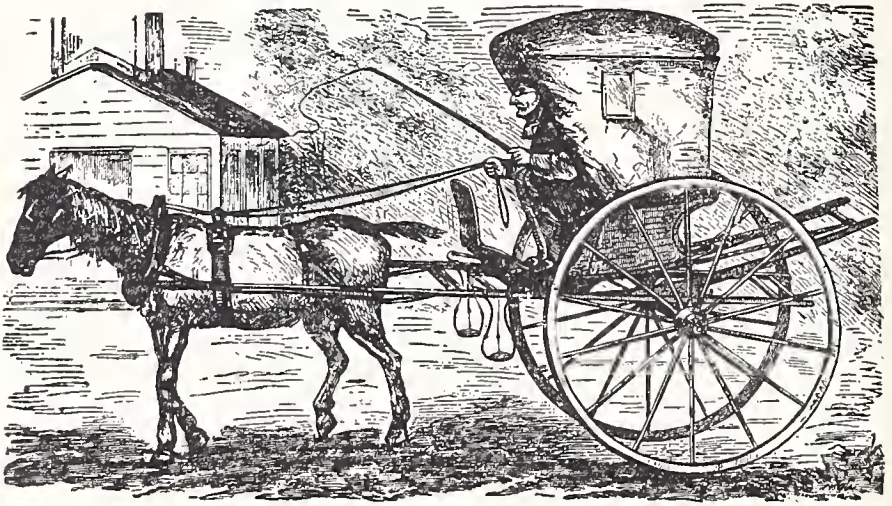
It is needless to say that, in the light of this evidence, even the apparently accurate data of Rev. H. A. Weller cannot stand. Both Orwigsburg and Lebanon County will be forced to resign their claims, and we must all learn the story anew.

We will only add that our narrative shows the interesting fact that Barbara was not tomahawked on her way to captivity, as has been stated and supposed, but that, once more, Muhlenberg is correct in saying that she "was compelled to go more than one hundred miles further," when the sisters were parted, and Regina lost all trace of her.

HISTORICAL NOTE.

At the Albany Treaty, July 6, 1754, the Six Nations conveyed to Thomas and Richard Penn a purchase, the northern limit of which was to start one mile above the mouth of Penn's Creek, where Selinsgrove now stands and run "north-west and by west as far as the Province of Pennsylvania extends." This line, protracted on the map, bisects Limestone Township, Union County, and, if run on the ground, would probably pass through the very tract of land taken up by Jean Jaques le Roy (father of Marie), now owned by the heirs of Hon. Isaac Slenker, in that township. The Indians alleged afterwards (Weiser's "Journal of the Conference at Aughwick," September, 1754) that they did not understand the points of the compass, and if the line was run so as to include the West Branch of the Susquehanna they would never agree to it. Settlers nevertheless pushed their way up Penn's Creek, and the Proprietaries, with their understanding of the line, issued warrants for surveys along Penn's Creek, in Buffalo Valley, and at least twenty-five families had settled on there as early as 1754. The Indians, emboldened by Braddock's defeat, July 9, 1755, determined to clear out these settlers, and did it so effectually, by the massacre related, that no settlers ventured upon the bloody ground until after the purchase of 1768. In 1770 when Jesse Lukens resurveyed the line of the le Roy tract he notes in his field-

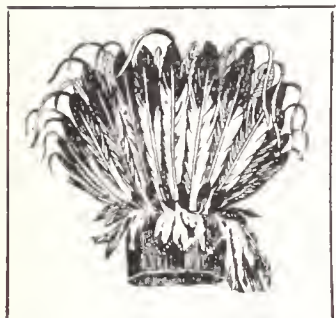
book that he passed le Roy's bake oven near the spring, on what is now the Slenker farm. The original narrative, now to follow, was given in German; the translation is by Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz, of Bethlehem, the spelling of the Indian and other proper names, being retained according to the original.





CHAPTER X.

NARRATIVE OF MARIE LE ROY AND BARBARA LEININGER.



MARIE LE ROY was born at Brondrut, in Switzerland. About five¹ years ago she arrived, with her parents, in this country. They settled fifteen miles from Fort Schamockin.² Half a mile from their plantation lived Barbara Leininger and her parents who came to Pennsylvania

from Reutlingen, about ten years ago.

Early in the morning of the 16th of October, 1755, while le Roy's hired man went out to fetch the cows, he heard the Indians shooting six times. Soon after, eight of them came to the house, and killed Marie le Roy's father with tomahawks. Her brother defended himself desperately, for a time, but was, at last, overpowered. The Indians did not kill him, but took him prisoner, together

¹ November 22, 1752, Rupp's Collection, page 297.

² *i. e.*, Fort Augusta, now Sunbury.

with Marie le Roy and a little girl, who was staying with the family. Thereupon they plundered the homestead and set it on fire. Into this fire they laid the body of the murdered father, feet foremost, until it was half consumed. The upper half was left lying on the ground, with the two tomahawks, with which they had killed him, sticking in his head. They then kindled another fire, not far from the house. While sitting around it, a neighbor of le Roy named Bastian happened to pass by on horseback. He was immediately shot down and scalped.

Two of the Indians now went to the house of Barbara Leininger, where they found her father, her brother, and her sister Regina. Her mother had gone to the mill. They demanded rum; but there was none in the house. Then they called for tobacco, which was given them. Having filled and smoked a pipe, they said: "We are Allegheny Indians, and your enemies. You must all die!" Thereupon they shot her father, tomahawked her brother, who was twenty years of age, took Barbara and her sister Regina prisoners, and conveyed them into the forest for about a mile. There they were soon joined by the other Indians, with Marie le Roy and the little girl.

Not long after several of the Indians led the prisoners to the top of a high hill, near the two plantations. Toward evening the rest of the savages returned with six fresh and bloody scalps, which they threw at the feet of the poor captives, saying that they had a good hunt that day.

The next morning we were taken about two miles further into the forest, while the most of the Indians again went out to kill and plunder. Toward evening they returned with nine scalps and five prisoners.

On the third day the whole band came together and

divided the spoils. In addition to large quantities of provisions, they had taken fourteen horses and ten prisoners, namely, one man, one woman, five girls and three boys. We two girls, as also two of the horses, fell to the share of an Indian named Galasko.

We traveled with our new master for two days. He was tolerably kind, and allowed us to ride all the way, while he and the rest of the Indians walked. Of this circumstance Barbara Leininger took advantage and tried to



escape. But she was almost immediately recaptured, and condemned to be burned alive. The savages gave her a French Bible, which they had taken from le Roy's house, in order that she might prepare for death; and, when she told them that she could not understand it, they gave her

a German Bible. Thereupon they made a large pile of wood and set it on fire, intending to put her into the midst of it. But a young Indian begged so earnestly for her life that she was pardoned, after having promised not to attempt to escape again, and to stop her crying.

The next day the whole troop was divided into two bands, the one marching in the direction of the Ohio, the other, in which we were with Galasko, to Jenkiklamuhs,³ a Delaware town on the west branch of the Susquehanna. There we staid ten days, and then proceeded to Puncksotonay,⁴ or Eschentowb. Marie le Roy's brother was forced to remain at Jenkiklamuhs.

After having rested for five days at Puncksotonay, we took our way to Kittanny. As this was to be the place of our permanent abode, we here received our welcome, according to Indian custom. It consisted of three blows each, on the back. They were, however, administered with great mercy. Indeed, we concluded that we were beaten merely in order to keep up an ancient usage, and not with the intention of injuring us. The month of December was the time of our arrival, and we remained at Kittanny until the month of September, 1756.

The Indians gave us enough to do. We had to tan leather, to make shoes (moccasins), to clear land, to plant corn, to cut down trees and build huts, to wash and cook. The want of provisions, however, caused us the greatest sufferings. During all the time that we were at Kittanny we had neither lard nor salt; and sometimes we were forced to live on acorns, roots, grass and bark. There was nothing in the world to make this new sort of food palatable excepting hunger itself.

³ Chinklacamoose, on the site of the present town of Clearfield.

⁴ Punxsutawny, in Jefferson County.

In the month of September Col. Armstrong arrived with his men and attacked Kittanny Town. Both of us happened to be in that part of it which lies on the other (right) side of the river (Alleghany). We were immediately conveyed ten miles farther into the interior, in order that we might have no chance of trying, on this occasion, to escape. The savages threatened to kill us. If the English had advanced, this might have happened. For, at that time, the Indians were greatly in dread of Col. Armstrong's corps. After the English had withdrawn, we were again brought back to Kittanny, which town had been burned to the ground.

There we had the mournful opportunity of witnessing the cruel end of an English woman, who had attempted to flee out of her captivity and to return to the settlements with Col. Armstrong. Having been recaptured by the savages, and brought back to Kittanny, she was put to death in an unheard-of way. First, they scalped her; next, they laid burning splinters of wood, here and there, upon her body; and then they cut off her ears and fingers, forcing them into her mouth so that she had to swallow them. Amidst such torments, this woman lived from nine o'clock in the morning until toward sunset when a French officer took compassion on her, and put her out of her misery. An English soldier, on the contrary, named John —, who escaped from prison at Lancaster, and joined the French, had a piece of flesh cut from her body, and ate it. When she was dead, the Indians chopped her in two, through the middle, and let her be until the dogs came and devoured her.

Three days later an Englishman was brought in who had likewise attempted to escape with Col. Armstrong, and burned alive in the same village. His torments, how-

ever, continued about three hours, but his screams were frightful to listen to. It rained that day very hard, so that the Indians could not keep up the fire. Hence they began to discharge gunpowder at his body. At last, amidst his worst pains, when the poor man called for a drink of water, they brought him melted lead, and poured it down his throat. This draught at once helped him out of the hands of the barbarians, for he died on the instant.

It is easy to imagine what an impression such fearful instances of cruelty make upon the mind of a poor captive. Does he attempt to escape from the savages, he knows in advance that, if retaken, he will be roasted alive. Hence he must compare two evils, namely, either to remain among them a prisoner forever, or to die a cruel death. Is he fully resolved to endure the latter, then he may run away with a brave heart.

Soon after these occurrences we were brought to Fort Duquesne, where we remained for about two months. We worked for the French, and our Indian master drew our wages. In this place, thank God, we could again eat bread. Half a pound was given us daily. We might have had bacon, too, but we took none of it, for it was not good. In some respects we were better off than in the Indian towns; we could not, however, abide the French. They tried hard to induce us to forsake the Indians and stay with them, making us various favorable offers. But we believed that it would be better for us to remain among the Indians, inasmuch as they would be more likely to make peace with the English than the French, and inasmuch as there would be more ways open for flight in the forest than in a fort. Consequently we declined the offers of the French and accompanied our Indian master to

Sackum,⁵ where we spent the winter, keeping house for the savages, who were continually on the chase. In the spring we were taken to Kaschkaschkung,⁶ an Indian town on the Beaver Creek. There we again had to clear the plantations of the Indian nobles, after the German fashion, to plant corn, and to do other hard work of every kind. We remained at this place for about a year and a half.

After having, in the past three years, seen no one of our own flesh and blood, except those unhappy beings who, like ourselves, were bearing the yoke of the heaviest slavery, we had the unexpected pleasure of meeting with a German, who was not a captive, but free, and who, as we heard, had been sent into this neighborhood to negotiate a peace between the English and the natives. His name was Frederick Post. We and all the other prisoners heartily wished him success and God's blessing upon his undertaking. We were, however, not allowed to speak with him. The Indians gave us plainly to understand that any attempt to do this would be taken amiss. He himself, by the reserve with which he treated us, let us see that this was not the time to talk over our afflictions. But we were greatly alarmed on his account. For the French told us that, if they caught him, they would roast him alive for five days, and many Indians declared that it was impossible for him to get safely through, that he was destined for death.

Last summer the French and Indians were defeated by

⁵ Sakunk, outlet of the Big Beaver into the Ohio, a point well known to all the Indians; their rendezvous in the French wars, etc. Post in his Journal, under date of August 20, 1758, records his experience at Sakunk, (Reichel). See Post's Journal, *Pennsylvania Archives*, O. S. Vol. 3, page 527.

⁶ Kaskaskunk, near the junction of the Shenango and Mahoning, in Lawrence County.

the English in a battle fought at Loyal-Hannon, or Fort Ligonier. This caused the utmost consternation among the natives. They brought their wives and children from Lockstown,⁷ Sackum, Schomingo, Mamalty, Kaschkaschkung, and other places in that neighborhood, to Moschkingo, about one hundred and fifty miles farther west. Before leaving, however, they destroyed their crops, and burned everything which they could not carry with them. We had to go along, and staid at Moschkingo⁸ the whole winter.

In February Barbara Leininger agreed with an Englishman named David Breckenreach (Breckenridge), to escape, and gave her comrade, Marie le Roy, notice of their intentions. On account of the severe season of the year, and the long journey which lay before them, Marie strongly advised her to relinquish the project, suggesting that it should be postponed until spring, when the weather would be milder, and promising to accompany her at that time.

On the last day of February nearly all the Indians left Moschkingo, and proceeded to Pittsburgh to sell pelts. Meanwhile their women traveled ten miles up the country to gather roots and we accompanied them. Two men went along as a guard. It was our earnest hope that the opportunity for flight, so long desired, had now come. Accordingly, Barbara Leininger pretended to be sick, so that she might be allowed to put up a hut for herself alone. On the fourteenth of March Marie le Roy was sent back to the town in order to fetch two young dogs which had been left there; and, on the same day, Barbara Leininger

⁷ Loggstown, on the Ohio, eight miles above Beaver.—Weiser's Journal.

⁸ Muskingum.

came out of her hut and visited a German woman, ten miles from Moschkingo. This woman's name is Mary —, and she is the wife of a miller from the South Branch.⁹ She had made every preparation to accompany us on our flight; but Barabra found that she had in the meanwhile become lame, and could not think of going along. She, however, gave Barbara the provisions which she had stored, namely, two pounds of dried meat, a quart of corn, and four pounds of sugar. Besides, she presented her with pelts for moccasins. Moreover, she advised a young Englishman, Owen Gibson, to flee with us two girls.

On the sixteenth of March, in the evening, Gibson reached Barbara Leininger's hut, and, at ten o'clock, our whole party, consisting of us two girls, Gibson and David Breckenreach, left Moschkingo. This town lies on a river in the country of the Dellamottinoes. We had to pass many huts inhabited by the savages, and knew that there were at least sixteen dogs with them. In the merciful providence of God not a single one of these dogs barked. Their barking would at once have betrayed us and frustrated our designs.

It is hard to describe the anxious fears of a poor woman under such circumstances. The extreme probability that the Indians would pursue and recapture us, was as two to one compared with the dim hope that, perhaps, we would get through in safety. But, even if we escaped the Indians, how would we ever succeed in passing through the wilderness, unacquainted with a single path or trail, without a guide, and helpless, half naked, broken down by more than three years of hard slavery, hungry and scarcely any food, the season wet and cold, and many rivers and streams to cross? Under such circumstances to de-

⁹ *i. e.*, South Branch of the Potomac.

pend upon one's own sagacity would be the worst of follies. If one could not believe that there is a God, who helps and saves from death, one had better let running away alone.

We safely reached the river (Muskingum). Here the first thought in all our minds was, O! that we were safely across! And Barbara Leininger, in particular recalling ejaculatory prayers from an old hymn, which she had learned in her youth, put them together, to suit our present circumstances, something in the following style:

O bring us safely across the river!
I fear I cry, yea my soul doth quiver.
The worst afflictions are now before me,
Where'er I turn nought but death do I see.
Alas, what great hardships are yet in store
In the wilderness wide, beyond that shore!
It has neither water, nor meat, nor bread,
But each new morning something new to dread.
Yet little sorrow would hunger me cost
If I could flee from the savage host,
Which murders and fights and burns far and wide,
While Satan himself is array'd on its side,
Should on us fall one of its cruel bands
Then help us Great God, and stretch out Thy hands.
In Thee will we trust, be Thou ever near,
Art Thou our Joshua, we need not fear.

Presently we found a raft left by the Indians. Thanking God that He had himself prepared a way for us across these first waters, we got on board and pushed off. But we were carried almost a mile down the river before we could reach the other side. There our journey began in good earnest. Full of anxiety and fear, we fairly ran that whole night and all next day, when we lay down to rest without venturing to kindle a fire. Early the next morning Owen Gibson fired at a bear. The animal fell, but,

when he ran with his tomahawk to kill it, it jumped up and bit him in the feet, leaving three wounds. We all hastened to his assistance. The bear escaped into narrow holes among the rocks, where we could not follow. On the third day, however, Owen Gibson shot a deer. We cut off the hind quarters and roasted them at night. The next morning he again shot a deer, which furnished us with food for that day. In the evening we got to the Ohio at last, having made a circuit of over one hundred miles in order to reach it.

About midnight the two Englishmen rose and began to work at a raft, which was finished by morning. We got on board and safely crossed the river. From the signs which the Indians had there put up we saw that we were about one hundred and fifty miles from Fort Duquesne. After a brief consultation we resolved, heedless of path or trail, to travel straight toward the rising of the sun. This we did for seven days. On the seventh we found that we had reached the Little Beaver Creek, and were about fifty miles from Pittsburgh.

And now, that we imagined ourselves so near the end of all our troubles and misery, a whole host of mishaps came upon us. Our provisions were at an end; Barbara Leininger fell into the water and was nearly drowned; and, worst misfortune of all, Owen Gibson lost his flint and steel. Hence we had to spend four nights without fire, amidst rain and snow.

On the last day of March we came to a river, Alloquepy,¹⁰ about three miles below Pittsburgh. Here we made a raft, which, however, proved to be too light to carry us across. It threatened to sink, and Marie le Roy fell off and narrowly escaped drowning. We had to put back,

¹⁰ Chartiers' creek.

and let one of our men convey one of us across at a time. In this way we reached the Monongahella River, on the other side of Pittsburgh, the same evening.

Upon our calling for help, Col. Mercer immediately sent out a boat to bring us to the Fort. At first, however, the crew created many difficulties about taking us on board. They thought we were Indians, and wanted us to spend the night where we were, saying they would fetch us in the morning. When we had succeeded in convincing them that we were English prisoners, who had escaped from the Indians, and that we were wet and cold and hungry, they brought us over. There was an Indian with the soldiers in the boat. He asked us whether we could speak good Indian. Marie le Roy said she could speak it. Thereupon he inquired, Why she had run away? She replied that her Indian mother had been so cross and had scolded her so constantly, that she could not stay with her any longer. This answer did not please him; nevertheless, doing as courtiers do, he said: He was very glad we had safely reached the Fort.

It was in the night from the last of March to the first of April that we came to Pittsburgh. Most heartily did we thank God in heaven for all the mercy which he showed us, for His gracious support in our weary captivity, for the courage which he gave us to undertake our flight, and to surmount all the many hardships it brought us, for letting us find the road which we did not know, and of which He alone could know that on it we would meet neither danger nor enemy, and for finally bringing us to Pittsburgh to our countrymen in safety.

Colonel Mercer helped and aided us in every way which lay in his power. Whatever was on hand and calculated to refresh us was offered in the most friendly manner.

The Colonel ordered for each of us a new chemise, a petticoat, a pair of stockings, garters, and a knife. After having spent a day at Pittsburgh, we went, with a detachment under command of Lieutenant Mile,¹¹ to Fort Ligonier. There the lieutenant presented each of us with a blanket. On the fifteenth we left Fort Ligonier, under protection of Captain Weiser¹² and Lieutenant Atly,¹³ for Fort Bedford, where we arrived in the evening of the sixteenth, and remained a week. Thence provided with passports by Lieutenant Geiger, we traveled in wagons to Harris' Ferry and from there, afoot, by way of Lancaster, to Philadelphia. Owen Gibson remained at Fort Bedford, and David Breckenreach at Lancaster. We two girls arrived in Philadelphia on Sunday, the sixth of May.

And now we come to the chief reason why we have given the foregoing narrative to the public. It is not done in order to render our own sufferings and humble history famous, but rather in order to serve the inhabitants of this country, by making them acquainted with the names and circumstances of those prisoners whom we met, at the various places where we were, in the course of our captivity. Their parents, brothers, sisters, and other relations will, no doubt, be glad to hear that their nearest kith and kin are still in the land of the living and that they may hence entertain some hope of seeing them again in their own homes, if God permit.

MARIE BASKET is at Kaschkaschkung. She was taken prisoner on the Susquehanna, where her husband was killed. She has two sons. The younger is with his mother; the elder is in a distant Indian town.

¹¹ Lieutenant Samuel Miles.

¹² Captain Samuel Weiser, tenth child of Colonel Conrad Weiser.

¹³ Lieutenant Samuel J. Atlee.

Mary Basket's sister,—her name is NANCY BASKET,—is at Sackum.

MARY, CAROLINE AND CATHARINE HAETH,¹⁴ three sisters, from the Blue Mountains.

ANNE GRAY, who was captured at Fort Gransville,¹⁵ is at Kaschkaschkung. We saw her daughter, but she has been taken farther west by the Indians.

JOHN WEISSMAN, a young unmarried Englishman about eighteen years of age, is now at Moschkingo. He is said to have been captured on the South Branch.

SARAH BOY, DAVID BOY, RHODE BOY, THOMAS BOY, AND JAMES BOY, five children. The youngest is about five or six years old; Sarah, the oldest, is about fifteen or sixteen years of age. Three years ago they were captured in Virginia.

NANCY AND JOHANNA DACHERTY, two sisters, aged about ten and six years, captured at Conococheague, and now in Kaschkaschkung.

EVE ISAACS, WILLIAM ISAACS, AND CATHERINE ISAACS. Eve is a widow and has a child of about four years with her. Her husband was killed by the Indians. William is about fourteen or fifteen years of age, and Catharine about twelve. They are Germans. Eve and her child, together with Catharine, are in Kaschkaschkung; William in Moschkingo. They were captured on the South Branch.

HENRY SEIFFART, ELIZABETH SEIFFART, GEORGE SEIFFART, CATHARINE SIEFFART AND MARIA SEIFFART, brothers and sisters, Germans, captured about thirteen months ago, at Southport, in Virginia, are now at Kaschkaschkung and Moschkingo.

¹⁴ From Northampton county (Reichel).

¹⁵ Fort Granville, one mile west of Lewistown, on the Juniata.

BETTY ROGERS, an unmarried woman, with five or six brothers and sisters, of whom the youngest is about four years old, captured, three and a half years ago, on the South Branch.

BETTY FRICK, a girl about twenty-two years old, captured three years ago in Virginia, now in Kaschkaschkung.

FANNY FLARDY, from Virginia, married to a Frenchman. Her daughter, seven or eight years old, is at Kaschkaschkung.

ANNA BRIELINGER,¹⁶ wife of a German smith from Schomoko, now at Kaschkaschkung.

PETER LIXE'S two sons,¹⁷ JOHN AND WILLIAM, German children from Schomoko, now in Kitahohing.

An old Englishman, or Irishman, whose surname we did not know, but whose Christian name is DAN, a cooper, captured on the Susquehanna, now in Kaschkaschkung. His wife and children are said to be in this country.

ELIZABETH, a young English woman, captured about a mile and a half from Justice Gulebret's¹⁸ place, on the Schwatara. Her child which she took along is dead. Her husband and other children are said to be living somewhere in this country. She is at Kaschkaschkung.

MARIE PECK, a German woman, captured two and a half years ago, in Maryland. Her husband and children are said to be living somewhere in this country.

MARGARET BROWN, a German single woman, captured on the South Branch, in Virginia, now in the country of the Oschaschi, a powerful nation, living, it is said, in a land where there is no timber.

¹⁶ Wife of Jacob Brielinger, whose improvement was on Penn's creek, two miles below New Berlin, in Union county.

¹⁷ Peter Lick from Penn's creek, near New Berlin.

¹⁸ Galbraith.

MARY ANN VILLARS, from French Switzerland, a girl of fifteen years, was captured with Marie le Roy, has a sister and brother living near Lancaster.

SALLY WOOD, a single woman, aged eighteen or nineteen years, captured in Virginia, three and a half years ago, now in Sackum.

Two young men, brothers, named IXON, the one about twenty, the other about fifteen years old, at Kaschkaschung. Their mother was sold to the French.

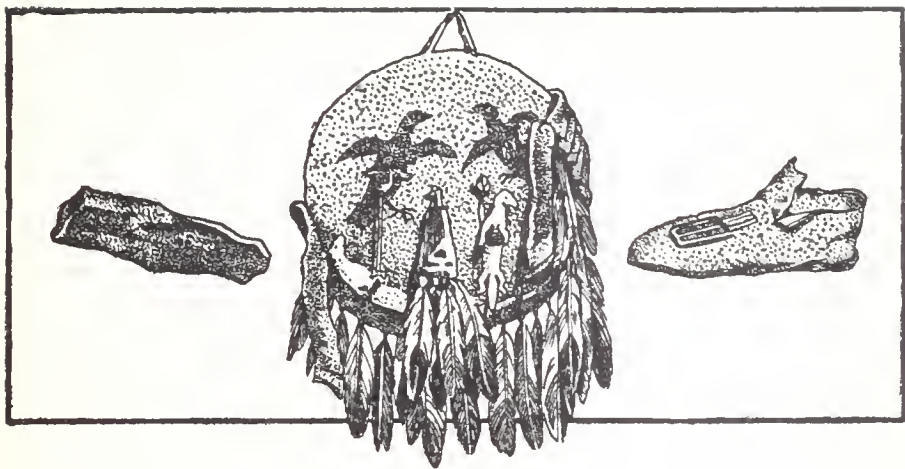
MARY LORY AND JAMES LORY, brother and sister, the first about fourteen, the second about twelve or thirteen years old, captured three years ago, at Fort Granville.

MARY TAYLOR, an English woman, captured at Fort Granville, together with a girl named Margaret.

MARGARET, the girl captured with the foregoing.

We became acquainted with many other captives, men, women and children, in various Indian towns, but do not know, or cannot remember their names. We are, however, heartily willing to give to all such as have, or believe to have, connections among the Indians, any further information which may lie within our power. We intend to go from here to Lancaster, where we may easily be found.





CHAPTER XI.

THE MORAVIAN MASSACRES.



THE Moravians were deserving of especial commiseration. Not only did they suffer greatly from the attacks of hostile Indians, but their lives, and those of their converts, were in danger from hostile white men.

It has been said already that their mission work was almost entirely among the aborigines, and became so successful that they were enabled to gather into small villages many converts. Just prior to the outbreak of the war unfriendly Indians made more or less frequent visits to their christianized brethren, and made every effort to gain them over to their cause. Being human, doubtless some were so gained and departed for the hostile rendezvous; others possibly left from fear. Some of these were, in time, recognized among the marauders, and im-

mediately the cry went forth that the Moravians were but training the Indians for French service and, by inference, in league with the enemy. Then again, speaking a tongue foreign to that of their Irish and English neighbors, who were out of sympathy with them and their work, when massacre and death followed each other in rapid succession, and all were possessed with unreasoning fear or hatred, it is not to be wondered that, to their eyes, all Indians looked alike and they but sought how to exterminate them; nor need it cause surprise to learn that those who harbored any of the race were looked upon with more than suspicion.

Though written somewhat later than the period when occurred the outbreak, it is well to read, at this time, the letter of July 31, 1758, from Bishop Jos. Spangenberg to Richard Peters, Secretary of the Province, which certainly carries with it conviction:

“MR. RICHARD PETERS:

“*Sir*,—I humbly thank You for giving me an Account of Mr. Smith’s Information, viz’t, That he, being a Prisoner in the French Countries, saw there the Moravian Indians go and come most every week, &c.

“Give me leave to observe, first, that a Moravian Indian is a Sideroxylon. Moravia is no Religion, but a certain country. But I suppose he means either some Indians who once have lived at Gnadenhütten, or he means Indians who were coming from Bethlehem.

“If he calls them who once lived at Gnadenhütten, Moravian Indians, he may have seen such amongst the French. For several Indians, who once lived at Gnadenhütten, went up to live at the Susquehannah, before we had any wars, and have been involved in them, some with, some against their will.

“ If he means Indians who came from Bethlehem, I suppose he was not mistaken either. For when Governor Morris issued a Proclamation, setting forth a Cessation of Arms on this side Susquehannah, numbers of Indians came to Bethlehem, stayed there some Time, went off again, and returned at Pleasure. The Brethren acquainted the Governor with it, not only by Letters, but also by Two Deputies, earnestly requesting and intreating that the said Indians might be ordered to be somewhere else. For Bethlehem was become a Frontier Place, and in continual Danger of being set on Fire and cut off cruelly by their very Guests. But the Government had weighty Reasons for leaving the Indians at Bethlehem, and when once they were removed to Easton for bringing them back again to Bethlehem.

“ But if Mr. Smith means by Moravian Indians those Indians Families who, when the war broke out, and our People were cruelly murdered on the Mahoney, fled to Bethlehem, and gave themselves under English Protection, which also was granted them, and who afterwards had their Houses at Gnadenhütten burnt, their Provisions destroyed and their Horses carried away, he is certainly mistaken. For these very same Indians were, as well as all other men in Bethlehem, constantly employed in the Time of War, in Keeping Watch, &c., and kept about Bethlehem for fear of being hurted by others, or of frightening them. And when Peace was a making they were our Watchmen in the Harvest Time, or they set themselves to work, which is so notorious that, on Occasion, one could bring One Hundred Evidences to prove it. After Peace was made, they have ventured out a hunting again, but did not go further than just behind the Blue Mountains, except one or another of them were sent as Messengers from the

Government. But with Respect to any Imputation that may ly on our characters, as if we were on any Account carrying on a political, or any other Correspondence with the French, I do declare that there is no such Thing; and if either Mr. Smith, or anybody else, is of Opinion that any one of us had a Hand in a Correspondence with the French, or that any one of us even had known of the Indians going to them, or coming from them, further than what we immediately have communicated to the Government of this Province, He is certainly mistaken.

“I am, Sir,

“Your most humble Ser’t

“JOS. SPANGENBERG.”

The missionary operations of the Moravians had extended far beyond the immediate vicinity of Bethlehem. Not only had they established the mission of Gnadenhütten on the Lehigh River, but successful work was under way among the small remnant of Conestoga Indians, located peacefully on the land allotted them by the Government, a few miles distant from Lancaster, of whose sad fate we will hear more later on, also among the Indians about Shamokin, and, indeed, among all those in the Wyoming district.

The outbreak of the war bore most heavily upon these converts in especial. The whites looked upon them with evil eyes, and the hostile Indians made every effort to entice them from their proper allegiance. In addition to peril of this sort came the need of the mere necessities of life. True to their Christian faith and duty, and regardless of danger to themselves, the Moravian missionaries pushed out into the wilderness to their aid, even when they saw the sky black with threatening clouds and knew that the storm might break at any moment.

I now take the liberty of quoting the words of Bishop J. Mortimer Levering, taken from his "History of Bethlehem," in giving an account of the occurrences which led to the sad massacre of the Moravians at Gnadenhütten, because they are the result of years of research among the valuable cotemporaneous documents on file in the Moravian Archives at Bethlehem. He says:

"Zeisberger and Seidel pushed on, far up the Susquehanna, to procure some food for this famishing little flock of 'straying sheep' and the faithful shepherd who was watching them at the hourly risk of his life. They made this effort not only as an act of humanity, but to impress the Indians with the conviction that their needs would be cared for if they remained together with Post and listened to his counsel. In reply to the message from Bethlehem, suggesting that he had better abandon his effort on account of the great peril, Post wrote, the middle of July, that 'he did not propose to yield to the powers of darkness and the evil spirits to whom he was a hindrance, unless they expelled him by force.'

"Having brought their few bags of corn safely to Post and the little band he was yet holding, Zeisberger and his companion continued their tour among the Indians at various places, in spite of the disturbed conditions of things. While on this tour they heard of the first savage outbreak, October 16, 1755, on Penn's Creeek, near Shamokin, where more than twenty persons were killed or captured. They turned their faces homeward the latter part of October, warned by Paxnous, who informed them of that first blow struck by the savages. From Gnadenhuetten, where they found everything quiet and peaceful, they proceeded to the Delaware Gap, having intended to traverse the region beyond, to the north and east, more

extensively. There they encountered a large company of militia-men who were much agitated by the reports they had heard, and plied the missionaries with questions. They and people in the vicinity had also heard of the alleged letter from a French officer—a rascally forgery—published in the newspapers setting forth that the Moravians and their Indians were allies of the French, aiding their movements. This wicked trick, producing impressions that could not be followed up wherever the report spread with disproof or even authoritative denial, had borne its fruits among the people up the Delaware; and the impression of these calumnies was in the minds of some men who came to the Bethlehem mill from that neighborhood in the course of the autumn.

“Zeisberger and Seidel reached Bethlehem in the night of November 2. They at once reported to Justice Horsfield all that they had learned about the beginning of hostilities by the savages, and their statements were immediately forwarded by special messenger to the Governor and Assembly; also the statements of George Biebinghausen, who, the previous day, arrived from Allemaengel, not very far from Gnadenhuetten—a Moravian station in the present Lynn Township of Lehigh County—that the people there were panic-stricken by rumors of an Indian raid, and that thirty persons had fled from their homes and taken refuge together in the Moravian school and meeting-house. On November 14, Henry Frey and Anton Schmidt set out from Bethlehem for Shamokin to rescue the missionary and master-smith, Marcus Kiefer, who had not, like his two companions, the missionary Godfrey Roessler and the blacksmith Peter Wesa, made good his escape. These rescuers turned back at Tulpehocken, where all was in a state of terror, for they were

assured that they would not be able to proceed. The panic at Allemaengel had not been without reason. Following upon a second raid made by the savages at the beginning of November, at the great cove in the present Franklin County, the Tulpehocken neighborhood was visited by skulking forerunners at this time, and on November 16, the first outbreak east of the Susquehanna occurred, when murderous gangs swooped down upon the farmers on the Swatara and Tulpehocken Creeks, killing thirteen persons and destroying much property. Thus the reign of terror opened in the region in which the savage raids were to be generated by Teedyuscung. He had risen to the honor—suspected by many to have been quite unauthorized—of having himself called ‘King of the Delawares.’ The outrages west of the Susquehanna were under the direction of Shingas, ‘the terrible,’ a brother of Tamaqua.

“On November 6 Henry Frey started again, accompanied by the missionary John Jacob Schmick, for Wyoming, hoping to reach Shamokin by that route and find Kiefer. They returned on the thirteenth and reported him safe. He had gotten away from Shamokin, and, six miles from there, met two Indians whom Paxnous had dispatched to the place to rescue him. One of them was the son of the old chief and the other was a son of the Mohican Abraham. He had, meanwhile, been protected by John Shikellimy, or Thachnechtoris, son of the famous chief, old Shikellimy. He escorted him safely to Gnadenhuetten, from which place they arrived at Bethlehem, November 16. With the arrival of these three men from Shamokin began the flight from various directions and distances to Bethlehem as a city of refuge. At one of the evening services during those weeks, Spangenberg took occasion

to admonish two different kinds of people. On the one hand, he urged those who were becoming timid and uneasy to remain calm and clear-headed and to be 'strong in the Lord.' On the other hand, some who, with perhaps a slight symptom of bravado, were disposed to over-estimate their security and, without realizing the peril that really existed, to make light of the trepidation manifested by people of the neighborhood who came to Bethlehem, were admonished that they should appreciate the cause these scattered settlers had for being alarmed, sympathize with them and try to encourage them.

"On November 20 came the first company of frightened people from the Saucon Valley, who had heard reports of the approach of hostile Indians. Some of them were given quarters for the night at the Crown Inn. That night guards were quietly stationed at three approaches to the town, not in fear of a surprise by Indians at this time, but as a precaution against a panic that might be created in the town by a possible inrush of terror-stricken people, sounding an alarm. The next day a company of persons who had been at Gnadenhuetten returned, bringing a letter from the missionary Martin Mack. He, with Shebosh and the missionaries Grube and Schmick, was stationed with the Indian congregation at its new quarters on the east side of the Lehigh, New Gnadenhuetten, where the more satisfactory tract of land had been purchased for the Indians. As previously stated, the other men and women connected with the industries of that settlement, and engaged in the study of Indian languages, occupied the mission houses of the original village on the west side. In that letter Mack wrote that the entire neighborhood was in a state of excitement on account of the French Indians, that many of the settlers had fled to Allemaengel

and that some of those Indians were trying to create a panic and stampede among the Gnadenhuetten Indians, but that the most of the men were off hunting. He quoted in his letter the sayings of several of the sturdiest Christian men among the Indians at Gnadenhuetten, in reference to the critical situation, their expressions of trust in the Saviour, if the worst should come, and their declaration that they would cling together and, if so it must be, die together. This letter from Mack was read to the congregation at Bethlehem by Spangenberg on the evening of that day, November 21, and the next day was communicated to Parsons at Easton by Horsfield, as the first note of danger for the Forks of the Delaware. While this little band of converts were thus giving expression to Christian resignation and considering the likelihood of their being murdered by the 'French Indians' when all efforts to draw them away proved fruitless, the latter were planning to not only do this, but also to wreak vengeance upon their missionaries, to whose influence they ascribed the steadfastness of the Gnadenhuetten Indians in withstanding every attempt to cajole, bribe or bully them into joining the conspiracy. At the same time, men from the Irish settlement were coming into Bethlehem with reports of how the people feared being suddenly fallen upon by those same inoffensive Indians at the mission; how some were planning to destroy the mission as a measure of self-defense, and how there was talk among some Jerseymen of even taking revenge by raising troops of rangers to move upon Bethlehem, the supposed harbor of French allies, white and Indian, and storage place of arms and ammunition for the savages. What human power of word or deed could rectify such an awful complication as this with hundreds of lives jeopardized in its mazes?

How was it possible to convince such men in the panic of the time, with this belief about the Moravians firmly fixed in their minds for years, that they were completely and terribly mistaken. What was to save Bethlehem when the storm should break? Earnest, well-disposed men came and asked why is it that your people rest quietly and do not seem to be afraid? Tell us, and explain this mystery, if you have not an understanding with the French and with the blood-thirsty hordes in their service. Spangenberg simply answered: 'The people are quiet because they set their hope in their God, knowing no refuge under such circumstances but in Him; and as He has counted all the hairs on our heads, not one of them shall be permitted to fall without His will.' He felt that a time had come for the Moravians to supremely demonstrate that they believed what they professed and taught and to let God take care of the result. It is recorded how one went away convinced of the truth and begged permission to bring his family to Bethlehem if the time came when they must flee.

"Even some who had been sure that the Moravians were on terms of understanding with the French and the murderous savages, were open to conviction to the contrary, right in the panic of those days, when it was not easy to reason with excited men. The next day, Sunday, November 23, when, in storm and rain, scores of families were fleeing from their homes between Bethlehem and Gnadenhuetten, and not only expression of fear and distrust, but even maledictions were heard among persons gathered at Easton, who spoke of the Indians harbored by the Moravians, David Zeisberger, who was at the country-seat in the interest of certain peaceable Indians of Wyoming who desired same kind of a safe conduct to Philadelphia to deliver a message to the Governor, ren-

dered an opportune service. He had an interview there with a number of men from New Jersey, who were among those who had been firmly persuaded of the treachery of the Moravians and their Indians, and had been drawn to Easton by the publication of Horsfield's message to Parsons. Their comment upon his statements and explanations was: 'This is the first sensible account of the case we have heard, and even if the Brethren will not take up arms they can secure their own lives (against mobs of avenging white men) by giving out reliable information.' The policy of silence usually pursued by the Brethren mystified many. While, in the main, it was undoubtedly the best, it had its limits, and possibly they carried it too far. Plain, blunt men, such as those Jersey men probably were, do not take kindly to an imperturbable silence when they are wanting to know the truth of a matter about which their minds are exercised. And yet, the sublime conviction that the case could best be left in the hands of God, for the results to work out and the truth to appear in His way, was vindicated in the end.

"There was much anxiety at this time about that stout-hearted ranger of the missionary force, Frederick Post, who had been defying 'the powers of darkness' in his lonely hut in the Wyoming wilderness; for now it was known that in that region those powers were holding grim carnival, and no white man could live there. He knew, however, when the moment had come beyond which it would be sheer folly for him to remain. He had acquired much of the Indian instinct and method in his movements. Suddenly, when two strange Indians with questionable motives were endeavoring to find him, he had disappeared without a word to any one as to where he was going. This was all that was known about him at Bethlehem—reported

from trustworthy sources—until November 22, when it was learned that he had safely reached Dansbury, the Brodhead settlement, where at this time Jasper Payne was stationed. Payne was the last who administered in the little church built there under the special patronage of Justice Daniel Brodhead, who had died at Bethlehem in July. It was dedicated May 19, 1753. Payne and Post, like so many people of the neighborhood, had to flee from the place in December and the little church was burned to the ground by the savages. Post reached Bethlehem on November 25.

“In the afternoon of that dismal, rainy Sunday, November 23, upwards of seventy armed and mounted men from New Jersey suddenly arrived at the Crown Inn, not for the purpose of destroying Bethlehem, as the talk of some had been shortly before, but to offer their services in defense of the place and of the Irish settlement, as there might be need; very positive expectation of an intended attack by the savages having been awakened through the spread of Mack’s letter beyond the Delaware. Justice Horsfield informed them that there was not thought to be any immediate peril at Bethlehem, and officially arranged for them to remain at the Crown over night, in order to prevent the consternation that would be caused by their sudden appearance in the streets of Bethlehem. The nerves of invalids and of timid women were considered and the greatest care was being taken to prevent all knowledge of the terrors of the time from reaching the children, both at Bethlehem and Nazareth.

“November 24 was a day of noise and confusion such as had never been experienced at Bethlehem, with sights that seemed very strange in its quiet streets. All day armed men marched through from different parts of New

Jersey and some of the lower neighborhoods of Pennsylvania, on horseback and afoot, with drums and flags, intending to scour the woods in the direction of Gnadenhuetten in search of hostile Indians. It was hoped that some detachments of the murderous hordes might be encountered and repulsed and their further advance thus be checked. David Zeisberger, with the knowledge of the militia captains, mounted a horse and started for Gnadenhuetten ahead of the rangers, to deliver Horsfield's message to Mack in reference to the desired convoy to Bethlehem, to inform the Indian congregation of this expedition and instruct them to remain quietly in their houses, so that they would not be found outside in the woods and mistaken for savages. He was stopped on the way by a company of excited Irishmen, who took it for granted that he was bound for the hostile camps to give the alarm to the 'French Indians' and frustrate the purpose of the militia-men, and thought that they had at last caught one of the Moravian traitors in the very act. Zeisberger's coolness and tact, which seemed never to forsake him in any emergency, together with that impressive power of conscious innocence which often turns the sentiments, even of the most bitter and excited men, served him well, as it had before and later did in far more critical straits. He was finally permitted to ride on, but the detention involved great peril for the Indian congregation.

"Evening was coming on when he reached the mission. Having delivered his letters to Mack, he immediately turned his course to the river, to cross before it became quite dark, intending to rest over night at the establishment on the Mahoning, on the other side, after delivering his messages there. He had heard gun-shots west of the river as he approached the mission, but did not suspect

anything amiss, for, with squads of militia now traversing the woods and occasionally firing signals to other bands, this was not a particularly startling sound that day. Suddenly a piteous cry from the other shore came to the missionaries on the east side who had just taken leave of Zeisberger. Shebosh instantly pushed a canoe into the water and directly returned, bringing Joachim Sensemann and George Partsch, with the horrible tidings that the savages had fallen upon the settlement, and, as they supposed, murdered the rest of the household. Then the rising flames began to light up the gloaming with a sickening evidence of the fiendish work that was being done. Zeisberger had meanwhile slowly made his way to the ford, and was crossing the stream. The nearer noise of the splashing water and the crack of the stones under his horse's hoofs prevented him from hearing the shooting and yelling of the savages, broken by the thick underbrush of the river-bank and the bluff beyond, which also concealed from him the light of the starting flames. Mack called to him several times at the top of his voice, but did not succeed in attracting his attention until he had reached the other side. A moment he paused and with dismay took in the awful situation, just as young Joseph Sturgis, who had escaped with a slight wound on his face, rushed gasping down the river. Turning about he forded back to the east side. There a consultation was held in the anxious suspense of the hour. The Indians, who gathered about Martin Mack in terror asking what they should do—many of the younger men were yet off on their fall hunt—were advised by him to quietly disperse and conceal themselves in the thick woods; for it was taken for granted that an attack upon the buildings on that side would soon follow. Sturgis had slipped away into the forest.

“Zeisberger gathered what particulars could be given him by Sensemann and Partsch, and, with these and Mack’s official message set out in the darkness to make his way with all the speed his tired horse could command, back to Bethlehem. His dreary midnight ride was broken by a brief interview with some of the militia rangers of the previous day whom he met on the road. He told them what had taken place, and their first impression was expressed in the declaration that this appalling fate of the Moravians at Gnadenhuetten proved their innocence of complicity with the savages in the interest of the French. Thus he could carry back, with his tale of woe, also the first evidence of good to come out of this great evil. He had not many details to report. The household of sixteen persons, fifteen adults and one infant, excepting two who were not well—Sensemann’s wife, who had remained in the room set apart for the women, and Peter Worbas, single, who was in another building in which the unmarried men had their quarters—were gathered at the table in the general dwelling and guest-house, partaking of their evening meal. The barking of the dogs and a sound as of persons approaching the premises, led Sensemann, who was steward, to go out for the purpose of locking the doors of the main building in which the chapel was, and making things secure for the night. He saw no one, and entered the building. Hardly had he struck a light, when he heard a loud report of firearms. He, like Zeisberger, thought the shooting was done by a company of militia who had passed several hours before, and were expected back to spend the night there, and paid no attention to it. Having locked the door, he started to return to where the others were, when he was met by Partsch, who announced that Indians had rushed upon the house

and were shooting at the inmates, and that he had escaped through a window. Sensemann proposed that they make an effort to rescue the women, and they turned towards the house, but it was entirely surrounded by the savage troop and they, being unarmed, could do nothing more than make their escape and sound an alarm at the mission, east of the Lehigh. The setting fire to the house followed after they fled and the presumption with which Zeisberger started for Bethlehem was that all, excepting these two men and young Joseph Sturgis, whom he had seen, had perished by the bullets or tomahawks of the murderers or in the flames. At three o'clock on the morning of the twenty-fifth he reached Bethlehem, aroused Bishop Spangenberg and told him the horrible story. Whether any others were immediately informed of it does not appear in the narratives. A messenger was sent to Parsons at Easton about two hours later.

"In the early dawn of that sad November morning the people of Bethlehem were summoned by the ringing of the bell, to morning prayer as usual, this being the first thing each day. Spangenberg had, according to custom, opened the book of daily texts to see what the watchword of the day was, and he found a peculiar significance in it that gave him a starting-point from which to begin the service and the morning words to the people in the usual manner, preparatory to breaking the mournful news. 'Joseph * * * made himself strange unto them and spake roughly unto them.'¹⁹ And his brethren, not recognizing him under the temporary disguise of this harsh exterior, said to Jacob their father, 'the man spake roughly unto us.' Thus, said Spangenberg, our Lord sometimes deals roughly with us and makes Himself

¹⁹ Genesis 42: 7 and 30.

strange, but we know His heart.²⁰ A peculiar impression was felt—an apprehension of something momentous—as he looked about the congregation, and his voice quivered with pent-up emotion. Then the announcement of the tragedy was made and tearful supplications went up to the darkly veiled throne of grace. Many a one's early meal was left untouched in Bethlehem that morning, and the day was one of mourning. Another thing Spangenberg said at that morning service: 'Our neighborhood can now see that the Brethren are not allied with the French, for we have been in such danger for several days of being fallen upon by a mob that they have quite openly said, "before we move upon the enemy, we must not leave one stone upon another in Bethlehem."' The Justice, our Brother Horsfield, has been a real martyr, for he could not convince all of the people that our remaining so quiet in the midst of the tumult that fills the whole land did not signify that we had an understanding with the French.'

"Those slain on the Mahoning were verily martyrs, destined in the mysterious ways of God, who 'made Himself strange unto them and spake roughly unto them,' to bear the convicting testimony to men who refused to be convinced by lesser proof. In some sense and degree, their blood was vicarious blood. It had to wash out the cruel calumny which excited prejudice, incapable of understanding the Moravians, persisted in writing on the bulletin board of public sensation, and it became the sprinkled blood on the lintels and door-posts of Bethlehem to stay the destroying hand of men, maddened by the fiendish atrocities perpetrated upon their homes, who might otherwise have taken vengeance upon the Moravians as friends

²⁰ "Der Mann stellt sich hart, aber wir kennen sein Herz." This last clause was the line of a hymn-verse accompanying the text in the book.

of the Indians. When the murderous hand of the savages was to be lifted against Bethlehem, God stayed that hand, for He had chosen the place as a city of refuge to which many who escaped might flee from the fields, where one was taken and another left. The most obtuse mind could be expected to comprehend, when the massacre on the Mahoning became known, that the savages would not fall upon those who were secretly working with them, and murder them. They thus took revenge upon the Moravians for standing in their way with that settlement at the mountain gate-way, and foiling their attempts to secure the co-operation of those converts. After this, the repetition of the old slander—and, although common opinion among suspecting masses was suddenly and powerfully changed, it was repeated by some, even after this—could no longer be charitably ascribed to mere ignorance about the Moravians. It now became criminal malice.

“In the course of the day, on that twenty-fifth of November, one after another arrived from the scene of carnage, like the messengers of Job coming in to tell of the ruin wrought where Satan’s hand was permitted to fall. From one after the other, further particulars were learned. About seven o’clock the first fugitive arrived; Peter Worbas, who at first had watched the horrible scenes from the room of the single men in another building. Although ill, he had trudged the long distance to Bethlehem afoot. He could not tell much more than was known. He saw one of the women flee to the cellar, outside the house, and back into the ‘sisters room,’ pursued by a savage with uplifted tomahawk. He heard the heart-rending screams of an infant amid the crackling of the flames. For some time he was a prisoner, a guard being posted at the door. A shout from the other savages diverting the attention of

his guard, he leaped from the window towards the Mahoning and fled. On the way to Bethlehem he heard of the escape of Sturgis. Anton Schmidt and Marcus Kiefer, who, at Shamokin, had become veterans in facing the dangers of savage surroundings, were soon dispatched to Gnadenhuetten to ascertain how matters stood there, and to take a message from Justice Horsfield to the militia gathered at that point, stating that provisions would be sent them if needed. Spangenberg, meanwhile, went to Nazareth to make the sorrowful announcement there, and institute the first steps towards guarding against a surprise by the savages. There, when he undertook to speak again of what had taken place, his composure forsook him. He broke down under the strain and for a while could only weep.

"In the afternoon Sensemann came, bringing about thirty of the Gnadenhuetten Indians, all completely exhausted by their hard experiences. While making his way through the woods towards Bethlehem, he came upon this little band cowering in their place of concealment, and brought them along. All that Sensemann could relate was already known through Zeisberger.

"Later in the day Martin Mack arrived with his wife, Grube and his wife, Schmick and Joseph Powell and his wife, who had been temporarily at the station on the east side, and more of the fugitive Indians. Mack was almost broken-hearted. Gnadenhuetten had been very dear to him. He had devoted himself to that mission from the beginning with all his heart, and he felt as a father towards the converts who were singularly attached to him. The colony of men and women who occupied the original buildings, on the west side of the river had trusted his counsel and leadership when the time of peril came. He had encouraged

them to stand quietly and manfully at their post. They had done so, and now they had fallen at that post, and he was spared. He was overwhelmed with sorrow. The entire Indian congregation of seventy persons gradually found their way to Bethlehem. Here they were sheltered in the 'Indian house' and were cared for, regardless of the risk their presence might entail upon Bethlehem when the unreasoning excitement of some in whose eyes all Indians were alike, was stirred anew by the discovery that they were housed there. It put a strain even upon the confidence and good will of some of the Bethlehem people, under the poignant grief they felt for the awful fate that had befallen their brethren and sisters on the Mahoning; all on account of Indians and at the hands of Indians; and under the growing dread of an attack upon Bethlehem, which might the more quickly be provoked by the presence of these people whom the savages were now bent upon killing, since they could not entice them. It even became necessary for Spangenberg, a few weeks later, to plead with such openly, to not permit aversion and bitterness to possess their hearts towards these poor creatures snatched as a brand from the burning; the remaining fruit of many labors, prayers and tears.

"In the afternoon of November 26, Partsch and his wife Susanna reached Bethlehem. It was not known whether he had escaped or not after he and Susanna parted, and his wife was supposed to be, of course, among the victims. Young Sturgis came with them. They brought the fullest details of the horrible massacre. After Sensemann had gone out to lock the door, as related by him, the barking of the dogs increased, and footsteps were heard about the house. Sturgis, followed by several of the other men, arose from the table and opened the door,

supposing that the expected militia men were coming. There, before the door, stood some of the murderous savages ready for the attack. Instantly they fired, and Martin Nitschmann fell dead, while a bullet grazed the face of Joseph Sturgis who was nearest to the door. Another volley quickly followed, and John Lesley, John Gattermeyer and Martin Presser fell. Presser, as was discovered some months later, was not instantly killed, but was able to creep from the house and find his way to the woods nearby, where he succumbed to his wound.²¹

“Martin Nitschmann’s wife, Susanna, was next wounded by a ball. She was seen to fall and her cry, ‘O brethren! brethren! help me!’ was heard. That was the last then known of her, and it was supposed that she had perished by a tomahawk or in the flames. She was evidently dragged out of the house when the remaining inmates fled to the garret, and, as was afterwards learned, she was taken captive by the murderers.²²

²¹ April 29, 1756, Stephen Blum, who had carried an order from Governor to Captain Carl Volck, Commandant of Fort Allen, built where the New Gnadenhuetten of the Indians had been, on the east side of the river, the site of Weissport—Volck was a member of the Moravian congregation at Allemaengel—returned to Bethlehem and reported that the previous week the soldiers had found a corpse in a dense thicket at the “sand spring,” not scalped but shot in the right side, and that the man had died lying upon his back with his hands folded. The Captain had the body buried by the militia, and sang as a committal service the verse: *Sein’ Augen, Seinen Mund, Den Leib für uns verwund’t*, etc. (from the Easter Morning Litany). The body was identified by the clothing as that of Presser.

²² July 19, 1756, her fate was publicly announced at Bethlehem when reliable information brought by Joachim, a baptized Indian, who had been up on the Susquehanna, confirmed previous reports. She was taken first to Wyoming by the savages, and almost perished from cold on the way. There several of the colony of baptized Indians, who had withdrawn the previous year from Gnadenhuetten, and were living there yet in the turmoil, recognized her as a Moravian sister. The first was Sarah,

“Those who succeeded in reaching the dormitory in the garret closed and secured the trap-door, so that their pursuers could not force it open. This remnant of the household were Gottlieb Anders, his wife Johanna Christina and their infant daughter Johanna; Susanna Louisa, wife of George Partsch; Anna Catherine, wife of Joachim Sensemann; George Christian Fabricius, George Schweigert and Joseph Sturgis. Sensemann’s wife sank down upon the edge of a bed and simply exclaimed, ‘Dear Saviour, this is what I expected!’ The wife of Anders, with her wailing infant wrapped in her apron and clasped to her breast, expressed only a mother’s anguish for her child. There they passed an awful quarter of an hour, listening to the yells of the savage troop and the shots fired at random through the window, the roof and the floor. One and another of the prisoners screamed for help at intervals, in the faint hope that rescuers might approach and hear that they were yet alive. Then there was a lull in the shooting; the yells ceased for a brief space, and no one was seen by those who peered out of the garret window. For the moment the attention of the demons was absorbed in their final most fiendish plan. Soon the crackling of the flames told the victims what they might now expect. Sturgis seized this opportunity to leap from the window, landed safely and got away. Susanna Partsch

the wife of Abraham the Mohican, who threw up her hands in consternation when she saw her. Another woman, Abigail, wife of Benjamin, was permitted to care for her wants in her own hut, until her brutal captor dragged her off to Tioga. There she passed her days in constant weeping and sank into a dazed condition of deep melancholy; Joachim saw her and spoke with her, and had definite information of her death at Tioga. The Indian who led the attack on the Mahoning and took possession of her as his prize, was killed in August, 1757, by another Indian under the accusation of having acted as a French spy at the treaty in Easton.

immediately followed him and also escaped. The third and last to make the attempt was Fabricius, as appeared from the discoveries made the next day. The window was now again watched, and he did not escape. The remaining four with the little child evidently perished in the flames.

Susanna Partsch was unfamiliar with the surroundings, having been at the place a week only, and did not know which way to take in the darkness. She secreted herself for some time behind a tree, at an elevated spot near the main building, where she could watch the movements of the murderers. She saw them set fire to one building after another; first, the barn, then the kitchen and bakery, then the single men's dwelling, after that the store and last of all, with some difficulty, the main building containing the chapel—the *Gemeinhaus*. The store was first looted, then all eatables found in kitchen, bakery and spring-house were collected and the savages had a feast by the light of the conflagration. There were estimated to be about twelve of them. About midnight, as nearly as the trembling watcher could judge, they gathered up the plunder secured in the store and set out towards Wyoming. Then this almost distracted woman, left alone at the desolate place, made her way down to the river where she came to a large hollow tree within which she took refuge until daylight, when rescuers arrived.

“Partsch had found his way during the night to a house in the Blue Mountains, where he fell in with Sturgis. Early in the morning they returned to the Mahoning with some rangers. He was nerved by a presentiment that his wife had escaped. When they got across the Lehigh, they suddenly came upon her, crouched in her place of concealment, almost benumbed with cold and fright. They

went on to explore the scene of desolation. All the buildings were burned down, and the charred remains of some who had there perished could be seen but not distinguished. Outside, in the square, they came upon the body of Fabricius, pierced with bullets, scalped and mutilated, and watched over by the only living friend that remained at the spot, his dog. The savages, after finishing their atrocious work, left a blanket with a hat and a knife stuck through them on a stump, as a defiant warning of more of the like to follow. Exhausted and sickened, Partsch and his wife and Sturgis set out on their sorrowful journey to Bethlehem.

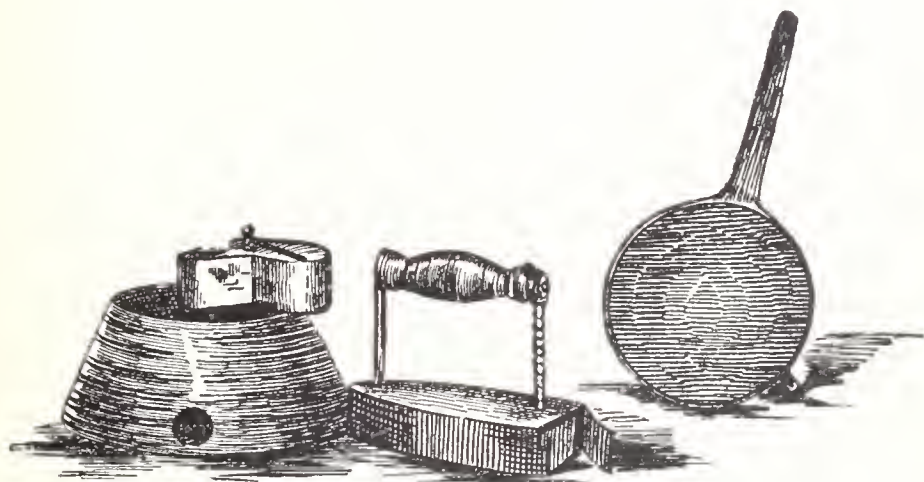
"Amid the deserted cabins on the east side, only Shebosh remained a while to watch for any members of the Indian congregation who might yet be hiding near-by and, seeing him there, might venture to approach. On November 27, Anton Schmidt returned from the Mahoning where, with the assistance of some neighbors, he had hastily made a coffin in which he placed the body of Fabricius, with such charred remains of the others as he could collect, and buried it in a corner of the garden, where the little cemetery of the place had been opened."²³

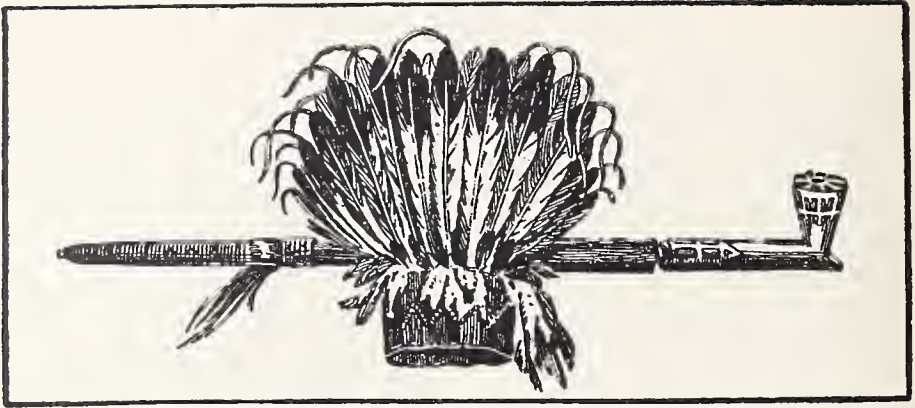
²³ The foregoing narrative is compiled from a careful collation of all extant original accounts, correcting inaccuracies of some of the many printed accounts, supplying some points lacking in others, and giving all the authentic particulars that would be found by examining all of them. This massacre ended Indian mission work there. The place lay neglected until 1771, when it became the center of a white congregation, composed of members of the two defunct congregations and Sichern, Dutchess County, N. Y., the region of the original Indian mission which furnished the nucleus of Gnadenhuetten in 1746. In 1783 the first recorded formal attention was paid to the grave of these martyrs, when that white congregation gathered around it to observe the Easter matins. In 1786, the Rev. John Frederick Moehring, minister there, addressed the executive authorities at Bethlehem in reference to placing a memorial stone on the

spot—a thing spoken of before. Finally, on December 10, 1788, the slab that yet lies there, with its simple but impressive inscriptions was placed on the grave. The monument at the head of it was provided through the exertions of descendants of Martin and Susanna Nitschmann, and set in place, August 7, 1848, the centennial anniversary of the first Indian interment at Gnadenhuetten. The credit for again rescuing the sacred spot from oblivion, more than thirty years after the dissolution of the white congregation of Gnadenhuetten, belongs mainly to the late Joseph Leibert, of Bethlehem, whose wife was a granddaughter of the Nitschmanns.

With the biographical sketches of those martyrs appended to the Bethlehem diary for November, 1755, is a parentation or elegy in Latin, by Christian Wedsted, the companion of the gifted Fabricius, who went with him to Gnadenhuetten, June 28, 1754, to study Indian languages. The composition is entitled:

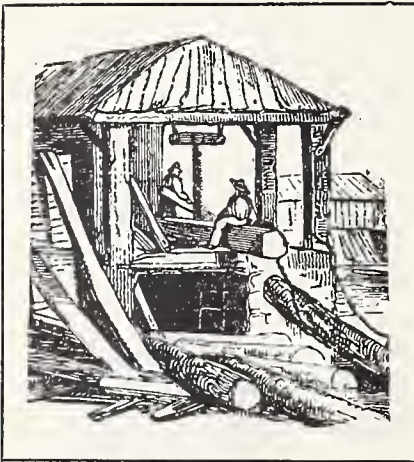
In Fratres Sororesque
beatae memoriae
quos ut sacrificium pro nobis
Salvator noster Deusque, T. O. M.
Sibi Mahoniae offerri passus est,
Die XXIV, Nov., c | d | dcc | v.





CHAPTER XII.

THE MORAVIAN ECONOMY AND DEFENSES.



THE seat of the Moravian Economy was at Bethlehem, whence emanated all their mission enterprise. Their Christian work, however, was not confined to the savage alone; they cared well for their own. There were the little ones, helpless and alone, to be looked out for; single sisters needed protection;

single brethren had their own especial duties; the wayfarer demanded their hospitality; flour needed to be ground and provisions secured, and for all these things various localities were to be settled and buildings erected thereon. The whole formed an Economy, which was a veritable hive of industry. To tell how it was defended during the war I propose to deal with each separate place in detail.

The remaining weeks of the year 1755, after the massacre at Gnadenhuetten, were a period of much anxiety at Bethlehem, and those who were at the head of affairs, and responsible for the policy and measures adopted, were under a severe strain. Each succeeding day revealed, more clearly, the great peril in which the settlement, with the stations on the Nazareth land, stood, especially the most exposed outposts, Friedensthal and the Rose Inn. At these Moravian places the dam would have to be built to hold back the devastating flood, if it was not to rush down unhindered over the entire lower country. Between this point and Philadelphia there was not another place at which a sufficient population could be concentrated, with the same degree of order and self-possession, of unity and discipline, to make a stand and present a front against the savage on-rush. Above these places no power or even show of resistance remained. There was no rallying ground for the people, no spot at which there was even enough of a compact mass of buildings to suggest the centering of any strength. When the reign of terror opened along the Blue Mountains, the people, who escaped, rushed, utterly demoralized and panic-stricken, down the country, and the Moravian places were the first at which there seemed enough prospect of being able to stand, to make it worth while to stop. Therefore, the extreme importance of baffling the savages at these points, which had now become the frontier posts, was realized. At Easton there was less, at that time, to inspire confidence among the panic-stricken refugees from the upper country, or to offer resistance. If the savages broke through the Moravian lines, there seemed to be nothing left, as some expressed it, but to "rush on before them into the sea, for the water was preferable to the toma-

hawk, the scalping-knife and the torch." And yet there were, at the time of the outbreak, probably not fifty guns among all the Moravians at Bethlehem and Nazareth combined. Some of the Moravian wood-men and farmers went hunting occasionally, not for sport—they had no time for that—but to supplement their provision-store in seasons of scarcity; and guns were sometimes taken along on journeys through the forest to secure needed food. Beyond this they had no use for firearms.

The people from the mountains who fled to the Moravians for refuge did not come supplied with arms and ammunition. They came empty handed, hungry, many of them half naked, men without coats or hats, women and children who had rushed from their beds at dead of night, many with only the clothing in which they slept and blankets or quilts hastily thrown around them, some barefooted. These people knew, furthermore, that the Moravians were "not fighting people," that they deprecated warfare and would have nothing to do with military drill. It was the talk of the country, and many a jest on the subject at their expense, had excited merriment around the fires of back-woods cabins, even while the wicked stories about their secreting arms and ammunition for the use of the "French Indians" were discussed, without appreciating the inconsistency of laying these incongruous things to their charge at the same time.

Though trained, as they were, to peaceful thoughts and employments, with the necessities of their neighbors before them, and all the facts, which have been stated, staring them in the face, their duties were apparent, and, without hesitation, they proceeded to perform them.

For a description of the Moravian defenses the writer



THE OLD WHITEFIELD HOUSE AT NAZARETH.

is especially indebted to the material collated by the late Rev. William C. Reichel.

NAZARETH STOCKADE.

While at Bethlehem itself armed men were stationed at various outposts, and defenses of a certain character provided, yet the main line of Moravian stockades and defenses occupied the more advanced position called the "Barony of Nazareth," comprising Nazareth, Gnaden-thal, or Vale of Grace, Christian's Spring, Friedensthal, or Vale of Peace, and the Rose Inn.

At Nazareth the "Whitefield House" is the central point of interest, and the one directly applicable to this article, as it was this building which became the Nazareth Stockade.

On May 3, 1740, George Whitefield, the founder of Calvinistic Methodism, agreed with William Allen, of Philadelphia, for 5,000 acres of land in the forks of the Delaware, the name given to all the country between the Lehigh and Delaware rivers, and including the whole county of Northampton. The price paid was £2,200 sterling. On this was to be erected a school for negroes, and a Methodist settlement to be founded. The tract was called "Nazareth." The Delaware Indians, who had a village on the same land at this time, called it "Welag-amika," signifying "rich soil."

Among the fellow passengers of Whitefield, from Georgia to Philadelphia in April, 1740, was Peter Boehler, and the remnant of the Moravian colonists of the former Province. With him arrangements were made to erect the building. Taking with him the brethren, Boehler at once started for Nazareth and went to work, but, by the first week in September, the walls of the school were

no higher than the door sill, and £300 had already been expended. Various things prevented progress in the work, until the spring of 1741, when Whitefield became peculiarly embarrassed, and, during the same summer, consented to sell the entire tract to Bishop Spangenberg of the Moravian Church. The deed of sale was executed July 17, 1741.

On December 2, 1741, Count Zinzendorf landed at New York. In the summer of 1742 he instituted proceedings for the removal of the Indians on the property, but was not successful until the middle of December when the brethren found themselves, at last, the sole possessors of their two log-houses with garden adjacent, and the stone walls of the ill-fated and unfinished school.

Meanwhile Zinzendorf abroad, in the summer of 1743, was busy fitting out a second colony of brethren and sisters, one portion of which he designed to locate at Nazareth. When intelligence of this fact reached Bethlehem, in the second week of September, masons were sent up immediately thereafter, on the eighteenth, to resume work on the "stone-house" (so-called), and hasten it to completion. Two years, therefore, had fully elapsed since the trowel had last rung on the limestones of this now venerable pile. By the close of the year the work was done, and, on the second of January, 1744, it was occupied by thirty-three couples, members of the colony that had been imported on the "Little Strength," Captain Garrison, in the previous November. The building contained eleven dwelling rooms, three large rooms or halls, and two cellars.

In 1745, the first of the group of buildings, at the improvement called by later generations "Old Nazareth," was built. Thither the adult inmates of the "Stone House" were gradually removed, and the building set

apart for the children of the settlement, and for a "boarding school for girls."

On January 7, 1749, fifty-six infants, varying in age from fifteen months to five years, with their attendants and instructors (widows and single sisters) removed from Bethlehem into the "Stone House" which, henceforth, was called the "Nursery."

The Indian War broke in rudely upon the quiet of the "home of little ones," and when the savages came down into the settlements in the autumn of 1755, it was thought prudent to remove the nurslings and the pupils of the boarding school to Bethlehem.

It then became a place of refuge for settlers from the frontier. In December, 1755, sentry boxes were erected near the principal buildings of old Nazareth. They were made of green logs having the chinks filled with clay, and so considered as practically fire-proof. In each of these four men watched at night. While Capt. Isaac Wayne's company were on duty at Nazareth these sentries were detailed from his command. In February, 1756, a stockade was erected around the cattle yard, and on May 26, 1756, was begun a trench for the palisades to be erected around the Whitefield House, and two log houses adjacent. This stockade was 236 by 170 feet and 10 feet high, being flanked by sentry boxes in which sentries were constantly on duty, not less than eight men constituting a watch. To celebrate the completion of their work, the brethren met, on June 4, in a Love Feast. The timber for this stockade was cut in April, prior to its erection.

After the Indian War the Whitefield House was occupied by various families as a domicile, but has now been rescued from the decay incident to neglect, and become the headquarters of the Moravian Historical Society. It

is a large antique edifice, built of limestone, with a hip roof, and has in front, between the stories, a brick band with crank-shaped ends, similar to those in many old houses in Philadelphia. This band marks the limits of Whitefield's labors.

It stands in "Old Nazareth" which shows plainly the ravages of time. In 1771 "New Nazareth" was laid out around Nazareth Hall, and grew apace until it became the principal place in the "Barony," now the borough of Nazareth. The Whitefield, or Ephrata, House is southeast from Nazareth Hall, and on what is now the southeast corner of Centre Street. Of this Rev. Reichel says: "There was a time, within our memory, when it stood back from the dusty street, and when its approach from the highway was by a stile, which, being crossed, led you under the shade of embowering trees to the carpet of green that spread out, invitingly, on the sunny side of its gray limestone walls."

The massacre at Gnadenhuetten was quickly followed by those nearer the Delaware, to be related in turn. Then came the flight of the luckless inhabitants across the mountains, in all conditions of wretchedness. Then it was that the old Whitefield House opened its doors, and received the poor refugees, until on January 29, 1756, it held 253, many of them children.

The gravity of the position, at the outbreak of hostilities, was so great that the Government felt constrained to give assistance to the Moravians in their defence of Nazareth. The first regular officer stationed there was Capt. Wayne, of Chester County. The following orders were sent him by Governor Morris, on January 3, 1756, who was then at Reading and had just received news of the destruction of Gnadenhuetten and murder of Capt. Hay's soldiers:

TOWN OF NAZARETH
LAND OUTGROWN OLD NAZARETH AND
NAZARETH HALL IN JANU 1811



- A Nazareth Hall
- B Village Square
- C Western House
- D Pump
- E Spring House
- F Granary Yard

FROM SURVEY BY C. BRITTON AND OTHERS
DRAWN BY J. B. BOWEN JANU 1811



BARONY OF NAZARETH, IN NORTHAMPTON COUNTY PENNSYLVANIA COMPRISING ITS FIVE MORAVIAN SETTLEMENTS.

HISTORICAL MAP OF THE



- NAZARETH 1743
- GNADENHUTTEN 1745
- CHRISTIANSBURG 1748
- FRIEDENSHAU 1749
- THE ROSE 1752

“CAP. WAYNE: You are upon your return from Depue’s to Halt with your Company at Nazareth, and there to remain until further orders, taking care all the while you are there to keep your company in good order, and to post them in such a manner as most Effectually to guard and secure that place against any attack; and if you should be past Nazareth when you receive these orders, you are then to return thither, and remain there, posting your men as above you are directed.

“You are, as soon as you can, to augment your company with the number of twenty men, each man to find himself with a gun and a Blanket, for the use of which a reasonable allowance will be made by the Government. And, in making this augmentation you are to take care to keep an exact account of the time when each man enters himself with you, so that you may be enabled to make a proper return to me upon oath.

“You are to inform the men of your company and such of the other company as you shall Joyn or have occasion to send to, that They shall receive a reward from the Government of forty Pieces of Eight for every Indian they shall Kill & scalp in any action they may have with them, which I hereby promise to pay upon producing the scalps.

“As there may be occasion for the immediate use of your Company in another part of the country, you are to Hold Yourself in readiness to march upon an Hour’s warning.”

His stay at Nazareth was but short. Benjamin Franklin very shortly after took charge of the direction of affairs. The twenty men of McLaughlin’s company, who came with him, were ordered to remain at Nazareth while Wayne’s fresh troops were sent, as a convoy with provisions, to the soldiers who were busily erecting forts near the

Delaware River. Other troops were there at various times, but the organization of the brethren themselves was so complete as to do away with the necessity for them.

THE STOCKADED MILL AT FRIEDENSTHAL.

One mile northeast from the old stone Whitefield, or Ephrata, House, at Nazareth, stood the mill which the brethren had erected on the banks of the Bushkill Creek, and which they named "Friedensthal," or the "Vale of Peace." This was also stockaded and played its part in the terrible drama of the times. It was in what is now Palmer township of Northampton County.

The matter of converting their grain into flour had become a serious matter to the brethren at Nazareth already in 1749. It is true a mill had been erected at Christian's Spring, in 1747, about one mile to the south of west from Nazareth, on the Monocasy Creek, of which the lower story was a grist and the upper story a saw mill, but this was of very limited capacity. Nearly all the grain, therefore, had to be transported annually to Bethlehem at great loss of time and money.

It was resolved, therefore, to erect a second mill, and, on October 28, 1749, John Nitschmann and Henry Antes, both from Bethlehem and men of experience, came to Nazareth to select a desirable site. Failing to find what they wanted on the Monocasy Creek, within the precincts of the Barony, they turned their footsteps eastward and, coming to the banks of the charming stream, which the Van Bogarts from Esopus named "Bushkill," and which the Scotch-Irish called "Lefevre's Creek," after John Lefevre, whose meadows, distant a short mile to the south, were irrigated by its waters, they selected the spot which was afterwards named "Friedensthal." This tract, com-

prising 324 acres, was also the property of William Allen, of Philadelphia. Negotiations with him for its purchase were finally concluded on January 3, 1750, the consideration being £324, lawful money of the Province.

Immediately the brethren commenced to clear the land, and the mill building, under the supervision of Mr. Antes, was started. In the second week of August, 1750, this was completed and in running order. It was located on the left bank of the creek, about one hundred yards north of the spot on which its successor stands, and was a substantial limestone structure with a frontage of 34 feet towards the south, and a depth of 48 feet and had four rooms. It was furnished with an overshot water-wheel and one run of stones, which were cut by Peter May in his quarry on the Neshaminy and were delivered at the "Kill" at a cost of £9 10s. currency. The mill irons were wrought at the iron works of Messrs. Wm. Logan & Co., Durham.

On August 21, 1750, the new mill was inaugurated in its career of usefulness. The dwelling, or farmhouse, meanwhile, was still in the hands of the carpenters, being, in fact, not ready for occupancy until the spring of 1751. It stood directly east of the mill, was built of logs, 32 x 20 feet, was two stories high, and had four apartments. A flaring frame barn and three annexes, one for the horses, one for the cows, and one for the sheep, with a total frontage of 88 feet towards the south, and a depth of 30 feet, eventually flanked the dwelling on the east.

The following are the names of the Wurtembergers and others, with their wives, who were the tillers of the soil, herdsmen and keepers of the sheep:

JOHN STALL (1751) with Anna, his wife, from Oettingen, husbandman, subsequently, for many years, saw-miller at Bethlehem and host of "The Crown."

LUDWIG STOTZ, a Wurtemberger from Lauffen, husbandman, and Johanna, his wife.

PETER GÖTJE (1754-1755), from Holstein, Cordwainer, and Barbara, his wife (born 1716 at St. Margaretha, Holstein; died March, 1798).

JOHN ANDREW KREMSER, and Christina, his wife, sometime heads of the bureau of agriculture, and members of the Economy from 1753 to 1767; outliving it, therefore, by three years, when in February of 1767 the old Silesian husbandman died in harness in the farm house. He was the father of JOHN KREMSER, the landlord of the Nazareth Inn, the second "Rose," in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

MATTHEW HANCKE, and Elizabeth, his wife, superintended the farm between 1756 and 1763. In 1764 the Hanckes were settled at Gnadenthal (born 1707 in Upper Silesia, died January, 1785, at Nazareth).

Other members of the Friedensthal Economy, husbandmen and handicraftsmen, in the interval between 1754 and 1764, were the following:

PETER MORDICK (1754), a Holsteiner, born 1716, died May, 1783 (at Nazareth), and Magdalene, his wife.

PAUL FRITSCHKE, from Moravia, Carpenter, and Rosina, his wife.

MATTHEW WITKE, from Moravia, and Ann Mary, his wife.

GEORGE CRIST, from Moravia, and Ann Mary, his wife.

GEORGE VOLCK (1758), of the Volcks of Allemängel, on the springs of Antelauna, in old Berks, but a native of Düinstein, near the erst imperial city of Worms, and

TOBIAS DEMUTH, a youth of sixteen summers, last from Allemängel.

We have heard how the stream of refugees from the north and northeast flowed into and past Nazareth, and, like a river overflowing its banks, inundated that Barony. On January 29, 1756, there were at Nazareth 253, at Gnadenthal 52, at Christian's Spring 48, at the "Rose" 21, and 75 at Friedensthal. Of this number 226 were children.

In the annals of Friedensthal Economy, the first arrival of fugitives is chronicled on the thirteenth of December, 1755, and special mention made of a poor Palatine who had barely escaped from the hands of the murdering savages near Hoeth's. It was late in the night when word was brought to him that Hoeth's had been cut off. There was not a moment to be lost, so taking his helpless wife upon his shoulders, as she lay in bed (she had but lately given birth to an infant) he fled for his life. On the twenty-first a fugitive brought the report to the farm that the following night had been fixed upon by the Indians for a simultaneous attack upon the five plantations on the Barony. Brother Nathaniel Seidle, of Bethlehem, who, so to say, was in command at the "upper places" since the breaking out of hostilities, with his headquarters at Christian's Spring, thereupon took precautionary steps to avert a surprise, and, there being two companies of riflemen at Nazareth, he posted Lieut. Brown, of Capt. Sol. Jennings' company of Ulster-Scots, with eighteen men at Friedensthal. There was, however, no need of their presence, or, possibly, because of their presence the enemy desisted from attack.

On the fifteenth of January a company of refugees at Bethlehem set out for the mountains to look after their farms and cattle. Among them was Christian Boemper, a son of Abraham Boemper, of Bethlehem, silversmith,

and son-in-law of Frederick Hoeth. With him was Adam Hold, his servant, a redemptioner. The party, and some soldiers who escorted them, fell into the hands of the Indians, near Schupp's mill, Hold alone escaping with a severe flesh wound in the arm, which eventually cost him the loss of that limb. The killed, according to Capt. Trump, were Christian Boemper, Felty Hold, Michael Hold, Laurence Knuckle, and four privates of his company, then stationed at Fort Hamilton (Stroudsburg). Andrew Kremser, in a letter, dated Friedensthal, January 22, alludes to this sad affair, and gives the following additional information: "Yesterday there came to us three men from the mountain, whose parents are here with us. They report that the bodies of the eight were found and buried by the soldiers. Christian Boemper's body was stripped quite naked—of Culver they knew nothing. Our dogs make a great noise every night till 12 o'clock, and run towards the island, which is very bushy; and not without ground, I am inclined to suspect."

John Hold, here mentioned, was a native of Hanau on the French border, where he was born September, 1737. He was taken to Bethlehem, where, on January 29, Dr. John M. Otto amputated the arm. He recovered and, in January, 1767, removed to Christian's Spring. Despite the loss of his arm, he was an expert axeman. He was a short, thick-set man, and was always accompanied by two dogs when he went to Nazareth. He died in 1802.

A person named Mulhausen, a Palatine, while breaking flax on the farm of Philip Bossert, in Lower Smithfield, was shot through the body by an unseen Indian, receiving a wound which, it was feared, would prove mortal. One of Bossert's sons running out of the house on the report of the gun, was shot by the enemy in several places, and

FRIEDENSTAL,

A SETTLEMENT OF THE
MORAVIAN ECONOMY.
NEAR THE BARONY OF HAZLETH, NORTHAMPTON CO. PENN^a



soon died. Hereupon old Philip appeared on the scene of action, and exchanged shots with one of the attacking party, striking him in the small of the back, a reception that sent the savage off "howling." He himself, however, received a flesh wound in the arm. At this juncture some of Bossert's neighbors came to the rescue and the five remaining Indians made off. Mulhausen was taken to Friedensthal mill for treatment, at the hands of Dr. Otto, but the poor man was beyond help, and, on the third, he breathed his last.

On the ninth of March the commander-in-chief at the "upper places" called a council of war at Friedensthal, at which it was resolved to stand vigilantly on the defensive, and to stockade the place. As there was no time to lose, timber for the piles was commenced to be felled on the third day after the council, and, before the expiration of the month, the Friedensthalers, with the assistance of the young men of Christian's Spring, had completed the work. It enclosed the mill, the dwelling, the barn and the stabling over the way.

On June 25, 1756, Commissary Jas. Young visited this stockade and reports as follows:

"At 3 P. M. Sett out from the Wind Gap for Easton, ab't half way past by Nazareth Mill, Round which is a Large but Slight Stoccade ab't 400 ft. one way, and 250 the other, with Logg houses at the Corners for Bastions."

On August 24, 1756, the shingled roof of the dwelling took fire from sparks from the bake oven, and had not Lefevre's people lent helping hands the entire settlement would probably have been laid in ashes.

The Rev. Reichel relates an interesting tradition given him by the venerable Philip Boerstler, whom he visited in the spring of 1871:

"There," said Philip, "at the base of that limestone ridge, which bounds the meadows on the south, ran a trail between Old Nazareth and Friedensthal, and on that trail one of our ministering brethren, in the times of the Indian War, escaped with his life from the deadly aim of an Indian's rifle as by a miracle. It was the custom of our brethren to make the tour of the settlements on the tract, dispensing words of cheer or ghostly comfort to men whose hearts were failing them amid the harrowing uncertainties in which they lived. Thrice had the passing evangelist been marked by the lurking savage in his covert on the ridge, and thrice did the painted brave pass his fingers across the notches in his tally, which reminded him that there was but one scalp lacking, of the needed twelve, to insure him a captainship in his clan. The love of glory fired the dusky warrior's bosom, but he hesitated to perpetrate the foul deed, for, in his intended victim, he recognized the man whom he had once heard speaking words of peace and mercy and forgiveness, in the turreted little chapel on the Mahoning. But, when the coveted prize was within his view for the fourth time, casting from him the remembrance of better things, and calling upon the Evil One to smite him a paralytic, should he quail in taking aim, the frenzied Delaware drew a deadly bead upon his brother, and almost saw himself a chieftain—when, lo! his rifle fell to the earth, and the brawny limbs and the keen sight lost their cunning for those of an impotent." "And what was the subsequent fate of this so marvelously thwarted savage?" I asked. "He became a convert," replied Philip, "and a helper at the mission." "And did you learn the evangelist's name?" I questioned. Said Philip, "It was Fries or Grube, I believe."

The precautions taken to secure Friedensthal from a

surprise on the part of the savages were kept up, unintermittingly, until 1758.

In the third week of March, 1757, the stewards of the "upper places" were cautioned to keep vigilant watch—to reset the shutters on the houses, and to secure the gates of the stockade with strong fastenings. There was certainly need of this vigilance for, on the twenty-fourth of March, the Delawares, who were residing in an apartment of Nazareth Hall (then not fully completed) reported finding, not a stone's throw from the house, suspended from a sapling in the woods, an Indian token, wrought from swan's feathers, such as served to mark the chosen site of a rendezvous for warriors, when about to strike a blow.

By this time, however, it had been decreed that the setting of watches might no longer be done without the Governor's special leave. Warden Schropp accordingly wrote Governor Denny for the necessary permission, which was promptly accorded, and six commissions sent to captains of watches, as follows:

1. To George Klein and John Ortlieb, for Bethlehem.
2. To Godfried Schwarz, in Christian's Brunn.
3. To Abram Hessler, in Gnadenthal.
4. To Nicholas Shaffer, in Nazareth.
5. To Philip Trenston, in Friedensthal.
6. To Henry Fry, to be chief captain, or overseer, of Christian's Brunn, Gnadenthal, Nazareth and Friedensthal.

In April the savages were again at work in the townships of Lehigh and Allen, and a petition for military protection presented to the Governor, in behalf of the people, by Frederick Altemus, James Kennedy and others. So it came to pass that, in the first week of May, the mill was

once more filled with fugitives. It was one of this number who brought the sad intelligence that Webb's place had been burned last Sunday, by some Indians led on by a Frenchman. Webb's wife, Abraham Miller's widow, and her son Abraham, were taken prisoners. This statement was confirmed, a few weeks later, by the lad, who had effected his escape.

On August 22, of the same year, Warden Schropp reported to the Governor, "In Friedensthal mill they all have arms, and are constantly on the guard and watch by turns."

At the time Commissary Young visited the stockade, in June, 1756, or, at least, in that month, Captain Inslee, Ensign Inslee, and twenty-four men, were stationed in the mill.

With the peace of 1758 came tranquility until the outbreak of the savages in 1763. Once more then were the palisades placed in position, and again did the brethren take up their arms and stand guard, only to lay them aside in a short time, never more to take them up.

On the twentieth of April, 1771, the Vale of Peace passed out of the hands of the Moravian brethren into that of strangers, being sold to Samuel Huber, of Warwick Township, Lancaster County, for \$2,000, Pennsylvania currency.

About 1840 the demolition of the old mill was completed, no vestige of it remaining except the well in the barnyard.

The present mill was built in 1794 by Jacob Eyerle, of Nazareth.

GNADENTHAL.

Next in age to old Nazareth itself was Gnadenthal, founded in 1745, one year after "the Nazareth farm,"

from which it was distant two miles, west by north. Nestling, as it did, in a hollow at the foot of the ridge which traverses the great tract from east to west, surrounded on all sides by evidences of the Creator's bounty, it was well called the "Vale of Grace."

In the autumn of 1753, just prior to the times of which we are writing, there was a great gathering of the head men of the Moravian Church at Lindsey House, in the metropolitan suburbs of Chelsea, Kensington Division of the Hundred of Ossulstone, Middlesex O. E., for the purpose of examining into the financial circumstances of their society, which then was on the verge of disastrous bankruptcy.

From the report, on that occasion submitted by the five representatives of the American Province of the Brethren's Unity, at the head of which stood Bishop Spangenberg, we glean the following facts as to the composition of the Gnadenthal settlement.

	Value.
1. A Dwelling-house, with Brick walls and a tiled Roof 51 feet long by 30 feet broad, two stories high besides the Garret Story, containeth 10 dwelling Rooms, 2 Halls, 1 cellar.....	£300
2. A House with Brick walls, 36 feet long by 22 feet in Breadth, with 4 Rooms and 1 cellar.....	200
3. A work-shop	10
4. A walled Cow-house, 72 feet long by 50 feet in Breadth..	180
5. A Sheep-house	10
6. A Cow-house, 50 feet long by 20 feet broad.....	25
7. Horse Stables, 20 by 16 feet.....	10
8. A second Sheep-house 30 by 20 feet.....	10
9. A Milk-house and a Wash-house.....	10
10. A Barn, 40 by 20 feet.....	10
	<hr/>
	£765
	<hr/>

All the minor buildings gradually sprang up about the main and central buildings of the plot, from the turret of whose red-tiled roof a bell sounded faintly down the peaceful vale, thrice on every day of the year, summoning its devout people to the services of the sanctuary.

The outbreak of hostilities in the fall of 1755 found Gnadenthal a happy and prosperous settlement. The stream of fugitives from the frontiers began pouring into the "Barony" immediately after, until on January 29, 1756, Gnadenthal, which had become literally a "Vale of Grace," was sheltering 52 of these sufferers within its hospitable walls. The need of defensive operations was at once apparent, and, on January 22, 1756, a stockade was commenced. The date of its completion, and its appearance, are not given, neither is there any record of its occupancy by Provincial troops. It was doubtless similar to that of Friedensthal, and was, unquestionably, guarded by its own people, assisted in time of need by detachments of the brethren from the neighboring settlement at Christian's Spring.

We have already seen that, in 1757, Governor Denny issued, among others, a commission as captain of a watch to Abram Hessler in Gnadenthal.

During these perilous times the farm, or grange, was in charge of John Nicholas Weinland, who removed thence from "The Rose," and assumed control in 1756. Mr. Weinland and Phillippina, his wife (a daughter of the patriarch George Loesch of Gernsheim, near Worms, in the Palatinate, who lived to be ninety-two years of age, and to see gathered around him fifty grandchildren and fifty great-grandchildren), came from Thuringenland, Saxe-Meiningen. He was a musician, as well as a farmer. It is related of him that, while on a visit to Bethlehem,

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CHRISTIANS' SPRING.

his love of music induced him to enter a hall in which he heard some amateur musicians rehearsing. His intrusion, of course, arrested their attention, but, in his rustic garb, with whip in hand, he sat down, in no wise disconcerted. Shortly after one of the performers stepped down from the platform to twit the countryman, but the latter was too artless to see the point of his jokes. On being asked, Weinland replied that he loved music and sometimes practiced it. This created merriment, and it was at once suggested that he give them a specimen of his skill. A violoncello was handed him, a music stand placed in front of him, and on it the music laid, upside down. However, none abashed, our worthy farmer allowed the sheet to remain on the stand as it had been placed there, and then played it perfectly.

CHRISTIAN'S SPRING.

The settlement at Christian's Spring comes next, in order of time, to that of Gnadenthal, which it adjoins on the southwest, being separated from its buildings by the ridge previously mentioned. It was begun in 1747. Here the waters of the Monocasy were made to turn the overshot wheel of a grist and saw mill, and, after the erection of dwellings and stables, of a smith shop and a brewery, the settlement was complete. Men marveled much at the quaintness of its houses, quartered and brick-nogged, hip-roofed and tiled; they marveled much, too, at the quaintness of the brotherhood, which, for almost half a century, divided its time between the management of the mills and the raising of horses and cattle. It was named Albrecht's Spring at first, subsequently, however, Christian's Spring, in remembrance of Christian Renatus, a son of Count Zinzendorf.

From the same report mentioned in connection with

Gnadenthal I find the following details concerning the buildings which composed this grange :

	Value.
1. A House of 47 feet long by 30 feet in Breadth, two Stories high, with 5 Rooms, 1 Hall, 1 cellar and 1 Fore-house...	£200
2. A new Brick house, 36 feet long by 28 feet, three Stories high, with 8 Rooms, 1 Kitchen and a Bake-House....	200
3. A Smith Shop, 40 by 21 feet.....	30
4. A Saw-mill and Miller's house.....	150
5. A coal-shop and Stable.....	5
6. A walled Brew house, with a vaulted cellar and Grainary 50 by 30 feet.....	230
7. A Cow-house of quartering and Brick-nogged, 70 by 30 feet	90
8. A Barn, 75 feet long, 36 feet broad, 16 feet high.....	75
	<hr/> £980 <hr/>

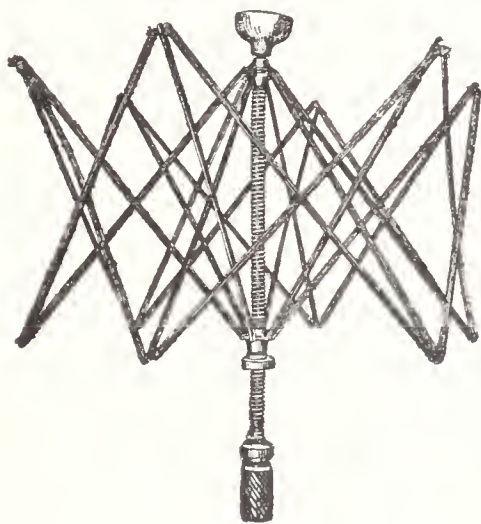
A peculiarity about Christian's Spring was the fact that, during the interval between December, of 1749, and April, 1796, this farm was the seat of an Economy of unmarried men known in Moravian parlance as "The Single Brethren's Economy at Christian's Spring." Therefore, during the Indian depredations, about nine-tenths of the inhabitants of the place were men, unburdened by the care and protection of wives and little ones. This, at once, placed them in a position entirely different from that of the other settlements. They not only needed no especial protection for themselves, but were always in a position to go to the assistance of others, which they cheerfully did. I can find no record of the erection of a stockade at Christian's Spring. So many of its principal buildings being either of stone or brick, it became only necessary to set a watch and provide temporary shutters for the upper windows of the main buildings to insure against any possibility of capture, surprise or destruction by fire.

Here, too, the ever hospitable doors of the Brethren

were thrown open to accommodate the refugees of January, 1756, of whom 48 were sheltered and cared for within them.

At the outbreak of hostilities Brother Nathaniel Seidel, of Bethlehem (afterwards a bishop), was in command of the "Upper Places." He made his headquarters at Christian's Spring. It is related of him, on one occasion, that as he was starting for Bethlehem, on foot, and had gone probably a mile from the settlement, he detected three Indians in hiding who were trying to capture him. Being fleet of foot he managed to escape by dodging between the trees, and finally regained the Spring.

It was at this place, also, that Zeisberger, the renowned Indian missionary, finished the compilation of his well-known Indian dictionary—from the letter W to the end.





CHAPTER XIII.

THE ROSE INN.



THE youngest sister of the family was a bustling and cheerful public inn, with the beautiful name of "Rose. It was distant about one and one-fourth miles north by east from Old Nazareth. The story of its birth and existence is interesting.

In 1751 there came orders from the head men of the church in the old country, for the laying out of a village on some eligible spot within the limits of the Nazareth domain. It was to be like the Moravian village in Germany. Bishop Spangenberg accordingly selected, and had surveyed into a town plot, a parcel of one hundred and sixty acres, adjacent to the northern boundary of the modern borough of Nazareth. The survey was actually commenced on the third day of January, 1752, preparations were made looking to the erection of dwellings on the opening of spring, and the name Gnadenstadt—"The City of Grace"—was given to the projected town. On

January 10 Brother Nathaniel (Seidel) escorted the masons and carpenters, forty hands in all, from Bethlehem to Christian's Spring. They were received at Nazareth with sound of trumpets as a welcome. The masons were led to the stone quarry and the carpenters began to fell trees. At an early date a small log house was completed on the site of the new town, and then the further building of Gnadenstadt was indefinitely postponed. The inhabitants of Nazareth, whom it was proposed to transfer thither, were not willing to give up the poetry and freedom of an Economy for the prose and restrictions of a municipium. The small log house stood vacant until in May, 1760, when it was occupied by John George Claus, a native of Alsace, and Mary Catharine, born Kuehn, his wife. In the autumn of 1761 Gottlieb Demuth, from Radelsdorf, Bohemia (formerly an inhabitant of Georgia), took up a lot a quarter of a mile south from the Inn, and blocked up a house. In this way the building of Gnadenstadt was gradually resumed, and the place grew; but in June, 1762, it received the name of Schoeneck, *i. e.*, "Pretty Corner," and so it continued.

One other building was originally erected, a rather imposing looking frame mansion of two stories, our Inn, and as it was the first house of entertainment for the "Tract," or "The Barony," as it was called, its erection deserves more minute mention.

On February 2, 1752, John Jacob Loesch and Carl Shultze, residents of Bethlehem, were instructed by the authorities "to draft an Inn or Tavern House, such as would be suitable to erect behind Nazareth for the convenience of the workmen of Gnadenstadt, and also for the entertainment of strangers, said house to be thirty-five by thirty feet, to be furthermore quartered, brick-nogged and

snugly weather-boarded, with a yard looking North and a garden looking South." A site for this important accessory was selected on a tract of two hundred and forty-one acres of land, which had been surveyed to the Moravians, some time previous, by Nicholas Scull, and which touched the head line of the Barony. Here the Inn was staked off, its cellar dug deep down into the cool slate, and, on March 27, the first stone of the foundation laid by Bishop Spangenberg, assisted by Warden Schropp, of Nazareth, Gottlieb Pezold, of Bethlehem, and others. Although work was carried on as actively as possible, yet it was autumn before the caravansary was completed. It contained seven rooms, one kitchen and a cellar. Subsequently a stable of stone, thirty-two by twenty-six feet, and a spring house of logs, were built. It was first occupied, on September 15, by John Frederick Schaub, a native of Zurich, Switzerland, cooper, and Divert Mary, his wife, who covenanted to discharge the duties of a landlord blamelessly, in consideration of the payment to him, annually of £10, lawful money of Pennsylvania.

Standing, as it did, on the great Minisink road that, since 1746, led from the farms and settlements dotting both shores of the Upper Delaware down to the populous portions of the counties, and to the great capital itself, its portals soon opened to many a weary traveler who speedily found rest and good cheer within. It was on August 6, 1754, during the above incumbency, that the sign was charged with a full blown scarlet rose. Hence, and ever afterwards, the house was known as "Der Gasthof zur Rose"—"Die Rose"—"The Rose."

Rev. Reichel very pleasantly says: "Now this floral appellation was bestowed upon the lonely hospice not because its surcoat was dyed deep in Spanish red, not because

it was hoped that, in its presence, the surrounding wilderness of scrub-oak and stunted pines would blossom like the queen of flowers, but in order to keep in lively remembrance a point in history—in so far as when John Penn, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn released to Letitia Aubrey, of London, their half-sister, gentlewoman, the five thousand acres of land that had been confirmed to his trusty friend, Sir John Flagg, for her sole use and behoof, by William Penn, Sr., late Proprietary and Chief Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, by the name of William Penn, of Worminghurst, in the County of Sussex, Esquire, it was done on the condition of her yielding and paying therefor ONE RED ROSE, on the twenty-fourth day of June yearly if the same should be demanded, in full for all services, customs and rents."

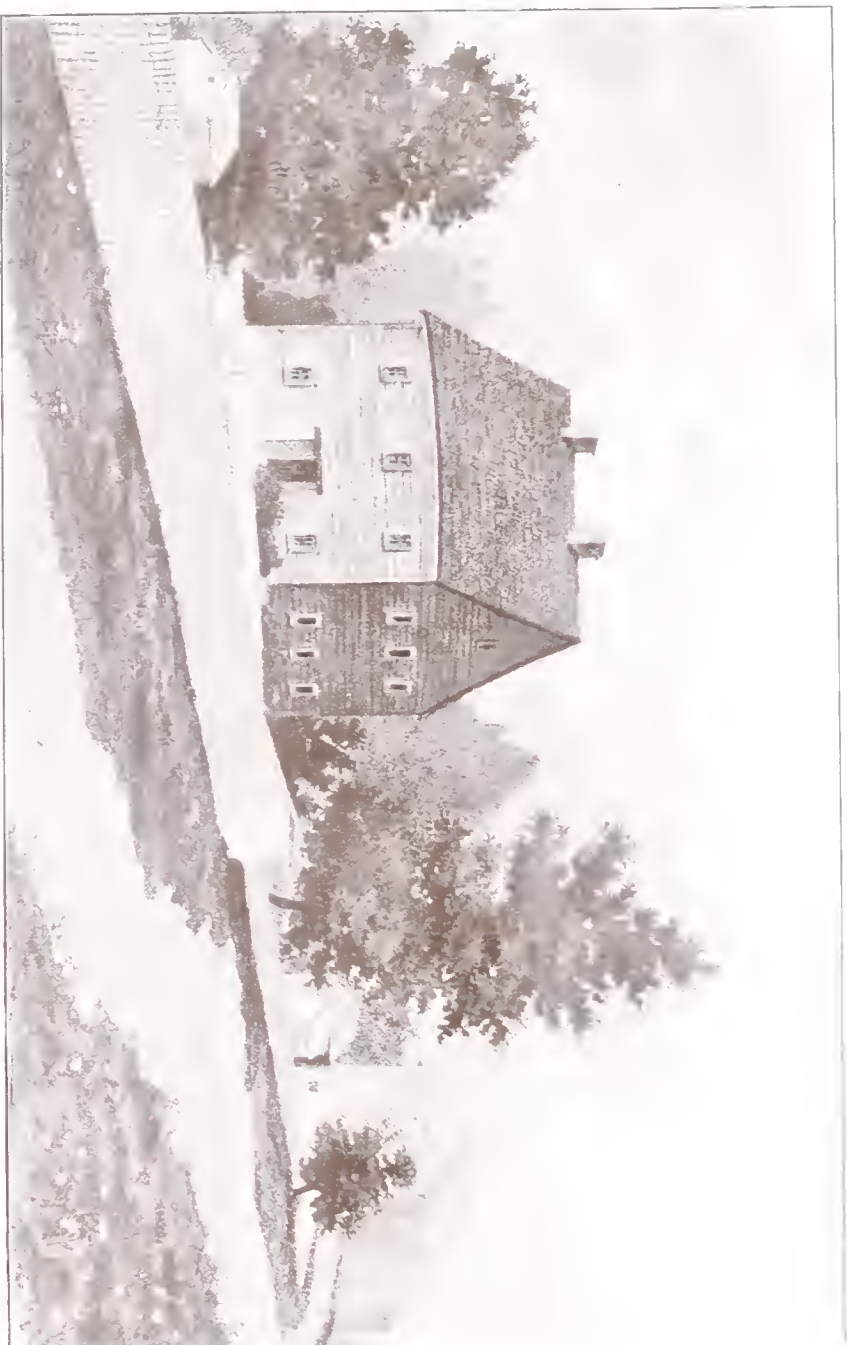
Schaub, his wife and son Johnny, the first child of white parents born at Nazareth, bade a reluctant farewell to "The Rose" on August 14, 1754. John Nicholas Weinland, his successor, mentioned in connection with Gnaden-thal, administered its concerns until the eleventh of December following. So it came to pass that the fury of the Indian War fell upon its neighborhood during the incumbency of Albrecht Klotz, last from Tulpehocken, but a native of Hohenlohe, in the lower Palatinate, blacksmith, and Ann Margaret, born Rieth, his wife, born in Scoharie, a daughter of old Michael Rieth. Associated with him were Christian Stotz, from Laufen, Wurtemberg, farmer, and Ann, born Herr, his wife (they, with three children, had emigrated to the Province in 1750), last from Gnaden-thal. They came in 1755, and attended to the farming. Joseph, a negro, from the Gold Coast, who, since March 5, 1753, had been acting as hostler, returned to Bethlehem, with his Indian wife, Charity, at this critical period.

On November 1, 1755, sixty thousand people perished at Lisbon in the great earthquake. A curious and interesting extract from the Moravian Chronicles, over which scientists may puzzle, if they see fit, states that, in the early morning of the eighteenth of said month, there was heard on the Barony, with a star-lit sky overhead, a sound as of a rushing wind and of the booming of distant siege guns, and whilst the sleepers in their beds at the Inn rocked, as do mariners in hammocks out at sea, the doors in "The Rose" swung on their hinges and stood open.

The part taken by our hostelrie in the Indian War was of a peculiar and two-fold nature. In the first place it was *par excellence*, a "house of refuge." At the northern and most advanced point of the Barony and on the high road communicating with the devastated regions, it became the gateway which admitted the harassed sufferer, and those he loved, to safety. On the other hand it was through this same gate the soldiers marched to protect their friends and repel the invader, and it was here they found for a while a comfortable resting place, either when on their way to the front, or upon their return from the scene of hostilities. It was but seldom its doors did not resound to the knock of the refugee, and possibly even less seldom they did not open to admit bodies of armed men. Indeed, its position of importance as a public house and, in addition, as an outpost of the Barony, demanded the frequent presence of a guard. When, on rare occasions, it did not shelter detachments of Provincial troops, brethren from Christian's Spring were detailed, in time of need, for that duty. So, then, besides being "a house of refuge" it was also "a fort."

On November 25, 1755, upwards of sixty terrified men, women and children, from the districts on the north, adjacent to the Barony, thronged through the doorway of the

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THE ROSE INN.

Moravian inn, clamorous for shelter and for protection from the murdering Indians. Among them were the Clevels, from the banks of the romantic Bushkill, the Steckers (whose seedling apple is in high esteem to this day), the Germantons, the Koehlers, the Klaeses, and the Kostenboders, all from the plains of upper Northampton. By December 17, 1755, according to an official enumeration, there were two hundred refugees billeted at Nazareth and in the Ephrata House, and one hundred at the other settlements on the tract. On January 29, 1756, as previously mentioned, there were 253 at Nazareth and 196 at the other settlements, of which 226 were children. At this time 21 were quartered at "The Rose." It was as promiscuous an assemblage as ever had been gathered in so short a time, embracing, as it did, men of divers nationalities and creeds, and women of divers tongues. There were the Eisenmanns, the Geisllys, the Hecks, the Hesses, the Heisses, the Heimanns, the Hoffmans, the Hueds or Huths, the Kunkles, the Schielses, the Serfases, the Sylvases, and the Weisers, all from Contented Valley; the Culvers and the Joneses from McMichael's Creek, the Brewsters, the Countrymans, and the Hillmans, from Dansbury—and many others.

Its occupation as a military post covered the interval, especially, between November 26, 1755, and February 20, 1756, a most trying period of the hostilities. On the evening of November 26 a company of Saucon rangers, under command of Capt. Laubach (the Laubachs were settled, prior to 1740, on a branch of the Saucon Creek, called Laubach's Creek to this day), halted at the inn, lit their camp-fires in the orchard, and bivouacked for the night. Having scoured the neighboring woods next day, to no purpose, on their return to "The Rose" there came intelligence of the enemy's presence in the gap in the moun-

tain, whereupon they broke up camp at dusk, and, by the friendly light of the full moon, set out in pursuit. Meanwhile, two detachments of mounted men had arrived. These, however, failed to recognize any necessity for their presence and so, after having dined, they departed. On December 14, Captains Jennings and Doll, at the head of their respective commands, passed "The Rose" en route for the scene of the last disaster at Hoeth's, under orders to search for and bury the dead. Five days later, on their return from this dangerous duty, they posted Lieut. Brown, with eighteen men, at the inn, for the defense of the Moravian settlements; and well it was they did so, for that very night there were indications of savages lurking within gunshot of its doors. Captain Jennings was the same Solomon Jennings who, at sunrise on September 19, 1737, set out with Edward Marshall and James Yeates, from John Chapman's corner at Wrightstown, to walk for a wager, and to walk off lands for the Penns in the celebrated "Walking Purchase," but who, on arriving at a point two miles north of the Tohickon, about eleven o'clock the same morning, desisted from the contest. Falling back into the curious crowd that followed in the wake of the walkers, Jennings parted company at the forks of Lehigh (at the head of the Bethlehem Iron Company's island), and struck into the path that led to his farm, situate about two miles higher up on the right bank of the river. Here he died, February 17, 1757.

On December 21, Captain Craig, with a detachment of Ulster-Scots, from their seats on the Monocacy and the springs of Calisucks, arrived in order to assure himself of the safety of his Moravian neighbors, who, it was rumored, had been cut off by the enemy. Next followed Captain Trump and Captain Ashton with their companies of provincials, from the seat of justice in a remote corner

of the county, hard by the Jerseys, their destination being Smithfield, and their errand the erection of a blockhouse within its limits. This was on December 26, and the last movement of the military past "The Rose" in the year 1755.

In the first month of 1756, however, the halls of the hostelry again echoed to the tramp of martial feet, and perhaps never more loudly than during the occupation of the Nazareth tract by Captain Isaac Wayne, of Franklin's command, in the interval between January 5 and 15. In the ensuing weeks there was constant intercourse between Nazareth and the men of war in Smithfield, detachments of Trump's men coming down from Fort Hamilton to convey supplies of bread, baked at stated periods in the large family oven in the Barony, to their hungry comrades. But, on February 17, our good landlord, Albrecht Klatz, was perhaps more sorely tried than on any previous occasion, when he was obliged to billet sixty soldiers who were clamoring for bed and board at the already crowded inn.

The following entries from the accounts of the tavern are very interesting:

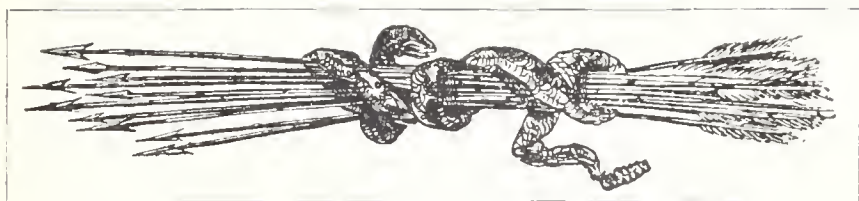
1756.

January 26. To Smithy at Christian's Spring for sundry work	£ 3. 4
February 5. To meals furnished Capt. Ashton's Company.	1. 4
February 14. To 25 men's eating and drinking, in command of Lieut. Anthony Miller.....	1. 10
February 18. To 31 men's breakfast of Capt. Trump's company	15. 6
February 19. To meals furnished Capt. Arndt's company, in command of Ensign Nicholas Conrad.....	1. 10
February 19. To meals and drams furnished Capt. Wetherhold's company.....	15
February 23. To 700 lbs. bread delivered to Capt. W. Craig in Nazareth.....	4. 7. 6
March 26. To 200 lbs. bread delivered in Nazareth to Capt. Wetherhold.....	1. 5
	<hr/>
	£14. 10

Gottlieb Senseman was baker-general at Nazareth.

After this the presence of the military at "The Rose" became less frequent, and gradually, though not uninterruptedly, its history's stream returned into its former more peaceful channel. Were it a part of this work it would be interesting to tell of its remaining landlords, as well as to dwell on a few of those who enjoyed its hospitality. The only remaining occurrence, however, which admits of notice, was the visit, on September 18 and 19, 1757, of Jacob Volck, Lewis Jung and three Indians, who had been sent by Teedyuscung to Joseph Kellar's place, to see if any of his liege subjects had been implicated in the capture of the latter's wife near Tead's blockhouse, on September 16. This was under the incumbency of Hartmann Verdriers, the fifth landlord, and his wife, Catharine, born Bender, who occupied it August 20, 1756.

After various further alarms and guard mountings, various visits of Indians and authorities of the Province, during the efforts made to bring about a treaty of peace, and various vicissitudes, incident to all similar buildings, it finally came into the hands of its last landlord, John Lischer, who, with his wife, Mary Catharine, administered its affairs from April 20, 1765, until March 30, 1772. With his retirement it ceased to be an inn, having been sold, in 1771, to Dorst Alteman, a native of the Canton of Berne, Switzerland, but, prior to 1761, an inhabitant of Lancaster County. It then passed through various hands until the spring of 1858, when the old hostelrie was doomed to destruction. Its chimneys were torn down, its roof was removed, its floors torn up. Some of the boards, which survived the wreck, were used to cover the gables of the tenant house which then stood on its site.



CHAPTER XIV.

THE OUTBREAK NEAR THE DELAWARE RIVER.



THE murderous forays of the savages, which began in October, 1755, near their headquarters at Shamokin, had spread, by December to the eastern limits of the province, when they reached the Minisink region and embraced that entire locality.

On the night of December 10 the Hoeth family was almost exterminated. They lived on the Poco Poco Creek, later known, because of this murder, as Hoeth's Creek, and now as Big Creek, a tributary of the Lehigh River above Weissport. The tragedy occurred in the near vicinity of where Fort Norris was afterwards built.

By daylight of the next morning the Culvers, McMichaels and other families were attacked, murders committed and property destroyed. They then made an assault on Brodhead's house, near the mouth of the Brodhead Creek, not far distant from where Stroudsburg now stands, but, fortunately, were beaten off. Among the sons, who aided in this defense, was, doubtless, the one who was afterwards distinguished in the Revolution, and in subsequent Indian wars, as General Brodhead. He had command of Fort

Pitt about the year 1780, and, previous to that, had charge of a garrison on the West Branch. He was particularly noted for his intrepidity and success in heading small parties of frontier men against the Indians.

On December 12, 1755, Justice Timothy Horsfield wrote the Governor from Bethlehem, inclosing "a faithful Translation of two Original German letters to the Reverend Mr. Spangenberg, which are just now come to hand, & which will inform your Honour of the particulars which I have to lay before you; Your Honour will thereby see what Circumstances we are in in these parts. I would also just mention to your Honour that the bearer brings along with him some pieces of arms which fail in the using, and which makes the people afraid to take them in hand. I pray your Honour will take it into your further Consideration & give us all the assistance that lays in your power."

The following was one of the above letters to Bishop Spangenberg:

"NAZARETH, 11th December, 1755.

"Mr. Bizman who just now came from the Blue Mountain, & is the bearer of this Letter will tell you that there is a number of 200 Indians about Brodhead's Plantation, they have destroyed most all the Plantations thereabouts, and Killed several families at Hoeth's. You will be so kind and acquaint Mr. Horsfield directly of it, that he may send a Messenger to Philadelphia & let all our Neighbors know what he have to expect, and that they may come to our assistance.

"NATHANIEL."

And this was the other:

"An hour ago came Mr. Glotz and told us that the 10th Instant in the night Hoeth's Family were killed by the Indians, except his Son & the Smith, who made their Es-

cape, and the houses burnt down. Just now came old Mr. Hartman, with his Family, who also escaped and they say that all the neighborhood of the above mentioned Hoeth's, viz't: Brodhead's, Culver's, McMichael's, & all Houses and Families thereabouts were attacked by the Indians at Daylight and burnt down by them.

"Mr. Culver's and Hartman's Family are come to us with our Waggon & lodge partly here in Nazareth, partly in the Tavern. Our Waggon, which were to fetch some Corn, were met by Culvers 3 miles this Side his House, and when they heard this shocking news they resolved to return & to carry these poor People to Nazareth. They say also that the number of Indians is about Two Hundred. We want to hear your good advice what to do in this present Situation & Circumstances, and desire if possible your assistance.

"GRAFF."

Upon arrival at places of safety the survivors of the massacre were called upon to make affidavit as to occurrences in which they had been actors.

One of them seems to have crossed over into New Jersey, where his deposition was taken at Phillipsburg, as per the following communication :

"COLONEL :

"Joseph Stout received one Express this morning by a young man from that place, where John Carmeckle & Brodhead lives back of Samuel Dupues, where they were attacked Yesterday about 11 o'clock, where the Barn & Barracks was on fire, & heard the Guns a firing (for Brodhead had Barracaded his House), & there was several People Killed, & I fled to Jno. Anderson for help; & as near as I could think there was an hundred Enemy that

appeared to me, and was in White People's clothing—only a few Match Coats.

“Sworn before me this 12th day of December, 1755.

“HENRY COLE.”

“COL. STOUT:

“I desire you would come up directly with your Regiment till you and I see if we can Save our Country. Your Compliance will oblige your real friend

“JOHN ANDERSON.

“Philips Burgh.”

The following deposition was taken before Wm. Parsons, at Easton:

“The 12th Day of December, 1755, Personally appeared before me, William Parsons, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Northampton, Michael Hute, aged about 21 Years, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, did depose & declare that last Wednesday about 6 of the clock, afternoon, a Company of Indians about 5 in Number attacked the House of Frederick Heath, about 12 miles Eastward from Gnadenhütten on Pocho Pocho Creek. That the family being at Supper the Indians shot into the House & wounded a woman; at the next shot they killed Frederick Hoeth himself, & shot several times more, whereupon all ran out of the House that could. The Indians immediately set fire to the House, Mill and Stables. Hoeth's wife ran into the Bakehouse, which was also set on Fire. The poor woman ran out thro' the Flames, and being very much burnt she ran into the water and there dyed. The Indians cut her belly open, and used her otherwise inhumanly. They killed and Scalped a Daughter, and he thinks that three other Children who were of the Family

were burnt. Three of Hoeth's Daughters are missing with another Woman, who are supposed to be carried off. In the action one Indian was killed & another wounded; and further this Deponent saith not.

“JOHN MICHAEL HUTE

“Sworn at Easton, the day and Year said, Before me
“WM. PARSONS.”

The next deposition, also made before Mr. Parsons, bears more directly upon the events which transpired near Brodhead's:

“The 12th Day of December, 1755, Personally appeared before me, William Parsons, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Northampton, John McMichael, Henry Dysert, James Tidd & Job Bakehorn, Jr., who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, did depose and declare, that Yesterday about 3 of the clock, afternoon, two Indian Men came from towards Brodhead's House, who fired at these Deponents and several others, who returned the fire and made the Indians turn off. And the said Deponents, James Tidd and Job Bakehorn, further said, that as they were going round the Stock Yard of the said McMichael, where they all were, they saw, as they verily believe, at least 4 Indians on their knees about twenty perches from the Stock Yard, who fired at the Deponents. And these Deponents further say that they were engaged in manner aforesaid with the Indians at least three Quarters of an hour. And these Deponents, John McMichael and Henry Dysert further say, that they saw the Barn of the said Brodhead's on fire about nine of the clock in the morning, which continued Burning till they left the House, being

about 4, afternoon, and that they heard shooting and crying at Brodhead's House almost the whole Day, and that when they left McMichael's House the Dwelling House of said Broadhead was yet unburnt, being, as they supposed, defended by the People within it. And the Deponents, James Tidd & Job Bakehorn, further say, that they did not come to McMichael's House till about 3 in the afternoon, when they could see the Barn and Barracks of the said Broadhead's on fire. And these Deponents further say that they did not see any one Killed on either side, but James Garlanthouse, one of their company, was shot through the Hand & Arm; and further these Deponents say not."

"The mark of

"JNO. MCMICHAEL.

"The mark of

"HENRY H. DYSERT.

"The mark of

"JAMES X TIDD.

"JOB BACORN.

"Sworn at Easton the Day and Year aforesaid Before me

"WILL'M PARSONS."

The alarming condition of affairs bore heavily upon the little town of Easton. Too weak to care for themselves the following appeal was made by Mr. Parsons to James Hamilton and Benjamin Franklin, who had just been appointed by the Governor to take charge of the defensive operations about to be inaugurated.

"EASTON, December 15th, 1755.

"*Honoured Sirs:*

"I make bold to trouble You once more, and it is not unlikely that it may be the last time. The Settlers on this side of the mountain all along the River side, are actually

removed, and we are now the Frontier of this part of the Country. Our poor people of this Town have quite expended their little substance & are quite wearied out with watching, and were all along in hopes the Government would have taken some measures for their Relief & for the security of the Town. But now seeing themselves as well as the Town neglected, they are moving away as fast as they can. So that if we have not help nor no orders from the Commissioners to use means to get help in a day or two, we shall every one of us be obliged to leave the Town & all we have in it to the fury of the Enemy, who there is no reason to doubt are lurking about within sight of us. Besides the Losses which I have reason to sustain in this general Calamity, I have expended what little stock of Cash I had, in Publick Services, so that I am obliged to send this by a private hand, not being able to pay a person to go express with it. Pray do something or give some order for our speedy relief, or the whole country will be entirely ruined. If you had but given Encouragements to some Persons that you could have confided in, for their Employing people just for our present Defence, till you could have agreed on a general Plan, all this part of the Country might have been saved which is now entirely lost, & the Enemy are still perpetrating further and further, and if immediate measures are not taken, they will very soon be within sight of Philad^a. This is my real opinion for all the country is flying before them and no means are employed to stop them.

"I am, Honoured Sirs, Your most obedient humble
Servant.

"WM. PARSONS."

On New Year's Day of 1756 an attack was made on the house of Henry Hess, the details of which are given in

an examination of Henry Hess, a nephew, aged nineteen years, who had been taken prisoner and was one of those brought back by the Indians during the Conference at Easton in November, 1756:

“This Examination saith that on New Year’s day last he was at his Unckles, Henry Hess’s Plantation in the said Township of Lower Smithfield, and that his Father, Peter Hess, Nicholas Coleman, and one Gotlieb, a laborer, were there likewise. That about nine o’clock in the morning they were surprised by a party of Twenty-five Indians, headed by Teedyuscung, among whom were several of those now in Town, viz. Peter Harrison, Samuel Evans, Christian, Tom Evans, that they Killed the said Nicholas Coleman and Gotlieb, and took his Father & himself Prisoners, set fire to the Stable, hunted up the horses and took three of them. Then the Indians went over the second Blue Mountains, and overtook five Indians with two Prisoners, Leonard and William Weeser, and a little after this they kill this Examinant’s Father, Peter Hess, in his presence, scalped him and took off all his cloaths. The Indians, who were thirty in number, in ye evening before it was dark, stopped & kindled a Fire in the woods, first tying him and the two Weesers with ropes and fastening them to a tree, in which manner they remained all night, Tho’ it was extremely cold, the coldest night as He thinks in this whole year. Some or other of the Indians were awake all night, it being as they said too cold to sleep. They seemed to be under no apprehension of being pursued, for they set no watch. As soon as day broke they set off traveling but slowly, and the next day they came to Wyomish, an Indian town on the Susquehannah, and finding no Indians there, this Examinant understanding

afterwards that the Indians who used to live there had removed to Tacounich for fear of being attacked, they proceeded on their journey & came the next day to the Town where were about one hundred Indians, men, women & children. This Examinant further saith, that after the severe weather was abated, all the Indians quitted Tacounich and removed to Diahogo, distant as he thinks fifty miles, situate at the mouth of the Cayuga Branch, where they staid till Planting time, and then some of them went to a place up the Cayuga Branch near its head, called Little Shingle, where they planted corn, and lived there till they set off for this Treaty. During this Examinant's stay with them small parties of five or six warriors went to war, and returned with some Scalps & Prisoners which they said they had taken at Allemingle and Minisinks. This Examinant says further that they would frequently say in their discourses all the country of Pennsylvania did belong to them, & the Governors were always buying their lands from them but did not pay them for it. That Teedyuscung was frequently in conversation with a negro man, a Runaway, whose Master lived some where above Samuel Depuys, and he overheard Teedyuscung advising him to go among the Inhabitants, & talk with the negros, & persuade them to kill their Masters, which if they would do he would be in the woods ready to receive any negros y't would murder their Masters & they might live well with the Indians. This Examinant saith, that he saw some English Prisoners at different places up the Cayuga Branch, and particularly one Hunt, a Boy, as he thinks, of fifteen or sixteen years, who was taken near Paulius Kiln in Jersey, that he had not seen him after Teedyuscung's Return to Diahogo on his first journey."

his
HENRY X HESS.
mark

The examination of Leonard Weeser, mentioned by Henry Hess, aged twenty years, taken before the Governor on November 9, 1756, was to the following effect:

“This Examinant says that on the 31st Dec’r last he was at his Father’s House beyond the mountains, in Smithfield Township, Northampton County, w’th his Father, his Bro’r William & Hans Adam Hess; That Thirty Indians from Wyomink surrounded them as they were at work, killed his Father & Hans Adam Hess and took this Examinant & his Brother William, aged 17, Prisoners. The next day the same Indians went to Peter Hess’s, Father of the s’d Hans Adam Hess; they killed two young men, one Nicholas Burman, ye other’s Name he knew not, & took Peter Hess & his elder son, Henry Hess, and went off ye next morning at the great Swamp, distant about 30 miles from Weeser’s Plantation, they killed Peter Hess, sticking him with their knives, as this Examinant was told by ye Indians, for he was not present. Before they went off they burned the Houses & a Barrack of wheat, Kill’d ye Cattle & Horses & Sheep, & destroyed all they could. Thro’ ye Swamp they went directly to Wyomink, where they stayed only two days & then went up the river to Diahoga, where they stayed till the Planting Time, & from there they went to little Passeeca, and Indian Town, up the Cayuga Branch, & there they stayed till they brought him down. Among the Indians who made this attack & took him prisoner were Teedyuscung alias Gideon alias Honest John, & three of his Sons, Amos & Jacob, ye other’s name he knew not. Jacobus & his Sons, Samuel Evans & Thomas Evans were present; Daniel was present, one Yacomb, a Delaware, who used to live in his Father’s Neighborhood. They said that all the country was theirs & they were never paid for it, and this they frequently

gave as a reason for their conduct. The King's Son Amos took him, this Examinant, & immediately gave him over to his Father. He says that they cou'd not carry all the Goods, y't were given them when last here, & the King sent to his wife to send him some Indians to assist him to carry the Goods, & she ordered him to go with some Indians to the old man & coming where the Goods lay, ab't 18 miles on the other side of Fort Allen, he stayed while Sam Evans went to the Fort to tell Teedyuscung that said Indians were with ye Goods & this Examinant with them, & this being told ye white People, Mr. Parsons sent two soldiers to ye place where the Goods were & brought him down with them, and he has stayed in Northampton County ever since. This Examinant saw at Diahogo a Boy of Henry Christmans, who lived near Fort Norris, & one Daniel William's wife & five children, Ben Feed's wife & three children; a woman, ye wife of a Smith, who lived with Frederick Head, & three children; a woman taken at Cushictunk, a Boy of Hunt's who lived in Jersey, near Canlin's Kiln & a negro man; a Boy taken about 4 miles from Head's, called Nicholas Kainsein, all of which were Prisoners with the Indians at Diahoga & Passeeca, and were taken by the Delaware Indians; that Teedyuscung did not go against the English after this Examinant was taken, Tho' His sons did; That the King called all the Indians together, & they made up ye number of Eighty Five, viz: from Diahoga and Passeeca, & another Indian Town; That Provisions were very scarce; That they went frequently out in parties ag't ye English; That he never saw any French or other Indians among them as he Knows of."

his

LEONARD X WEESER.

mark

Two cotemporaneous letters have been found, bearing on the horrible scenes of which we have related but a few incidents, which, though brief, are of interest. One of them, dated December 18, 1755, says "that a party of Indians had gathered behind the Blue Mountains to the number of 200, and had burned the greater part of the buildings, and killed upwards of a hundred of the inhabitants."

The other, dated the twentieth of December, reads as follows:

"The barbarous and bloody scenes which is now open in the upper parts of Northampton County, is the most lamentable that perhaps ever appeared. There may be seen horror and desolation; populous settlements deserted; villages laid in ashes; men, women and children massacred, some found in the woods very nauseous for want of interment, some just reeking from the hands of their savage slaughterers, and some hacked and covered all over with wounds."

To this latter epistle was annexed a list of seventy-eight persons killed, and more than forty settlements burned, which, most unfortunately, has gone astray and cannot, at this time, be recorded.

Our tale of the slaughter which took place prior to the systematic operations for defense, undertaken by the Government, cannot be better brought to a close than by quoting "A Brief Narrative of the Incursions and Ravages of the French & Indians in the Province of Pennsylvania," which was presented by the Secretary to the Provincial Council at its meeting held in Philadelphia on December 29, 1755, as a succinct summary of events to that period.

"Oct^r 18th, 1755, a party of Indians fell upon the Inhabitants on Mahanahy Creek that runs into the river Susquehannah about five miles Lower than the Great Fork made by the Junction of the two main Branches of that river, killed and carried off twenty-five persons & burnt and destroyed their Buildings and improvements, and the whole settlement was deserted.

"23rd. Forty-six of the Inhabitants on Susquehannah went to Shamokin to enquire of the Indians there who they were who had so cruelly fallen upon and ruined the Settlements on Mahanahy Creek, but as they were repassing Mahanahy Creek on their return from Shamokin they were fired upon by some Indians who lay in Ambush, and four were Killed, four drowned, & the rest put to flight, on which all the Settlements between Shamokin & Hunter's mill for the space of 50 miles along the River Susquehannah were deserted.

"31st. An Indian Trader and two other men in the Tuscarora Valley were killed by Indians, and their Houses, &ca burnt, on which most of the Settlers fled and abandoned their Plantations.

"Novm^r 2nd. The Settlem^{ts} in the Great Cove attacked, their Houses burnt, six Persons murdered and seventeen carried away, and the whole broke up and destroy'd.

"3rd. Two women are carried away from Conegochege by the Indians, & the same day the Canalaways and little Cove, two other considerable Settlem^{ts} were attacked by them, their Houses burnt, & the whole Settlements deserted.

"16th. A Party of Indians crossed the Susquehannah and fell upon the County of Berks, murdered 13 Persons, burnt a great number of Houses, destroyed vast quantities of Cattle, Grain, and Fodder, and laid waste a large extent of Country.

“21st. A fine Settlement of Moravians, called Gnadenhütten, situate in Northampton County, on the West Branch of the river Delaware, was attack'd, six of them killed, and their Dwelling Houses, meeting house, and all their Outhouses burnt to Ashes, with all the Grain, Hay, Horses, and upwards of forty head of fat Cattle that were under cover.

“Decm^r During all this Month the Indians have been burning and destroying all before them in the County of Northampton, and have already burnt fifty Houses here, murdered above one hundred Persons, & are still continuing their Ravages, Murders and Devastations, & have actually overrun and laid waste a great part of that County, even as far as within twenty miles of Easton, its chief Town. And a large Body of Indians, under the Directions of French officers, have fixed their head Quarters within the Borders of that county for the better security of their Prisoners and Plunder.

“This is a brief account of the progress of these Savages since the Eighteenth day of October, on which day was committed the first Inroad ever made by Indians upon this Province since its first Settlement, and in consequence here of all our Frontier Country, which extends from the River Patowmac to the River Delaware, not less than one hundred and fifty miles in length and between twenty and thirty in breadth but not fully settled, has been entirely deserted, the Houses and improvements reduced to Ashes, the Cattle, Horses, Grain, Goods, & Effects of the Inhabitants either destroyed, burned, or carried off by the Indians, whilst the poor Planters, with their wives, children and servants, who could get away, being without arms or any kind of Defence have been obliged in this severe season of the Year to abandon their Habitations naked and

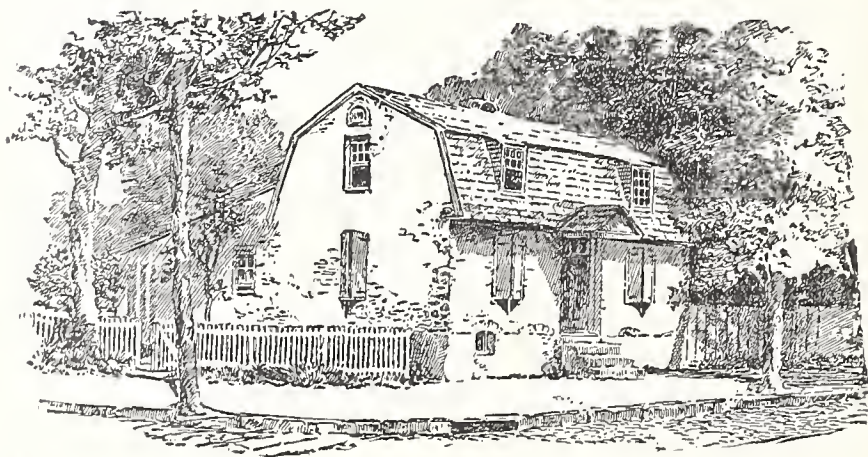
without any support and throw themselves on the Charity of the other Inhabitants within the interior Parts of the Province, upon whom they are very heavy Burthen.

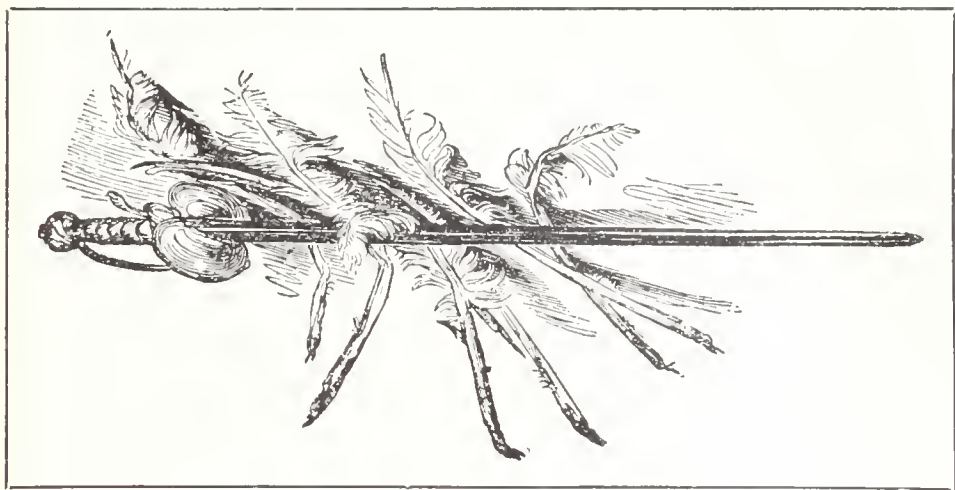
“Such shocking Descriptions are given by those who have escaped of the horrid Cruelties and indecencies committed by these merciless Savages on the Bodies of the unhappy wretches who fell into their Barbarous hands, especially the Women, without regard to Sex or Age as far exceeds those related of the most abandoned Pirates; which has occasioned a general Consternation and has struck so great a Pannick and Damp upon the Spirits of the people, that hitherto they have not been able to make any considerable resistance or stand against the Indians.

“All our accounts agree in this that the French, since the defeat of General Braddock, have gained over to their Interest the Delawares, Shawonese, and many other Indian Nations formerly in our Alliance, and on whom, thro’ fear and their large promises of Rewards for Scalps and assurances of reinstating them in the Possession of the lands they have sold to the English, they have prevailed to take up Arms against us, and to join heartily with them in the execution of the ground they have been long meditating of obtaining, the possession of all the Country between the river Ohio and the river Susquehannah, and to secure that possession by building a strong Fort at Shamokin, which by its so advantageous situation at the Conflux of the two main Branches of Susquehannah (one whereof interlocks with the waters of the Ohio, and the other heads in the Center of the Country of the Six Nations) will command and make the French entire Masters of all that extensive, rich and fertile Country and of all the Trade with the Indians. And from whence they can at pleasure enter and annoy our Territories, and put an

effectual stop to the future extention of our Settlements on that Quarter, not to mention the many other obvious mischiefs and fatal Consequences that must attend their having a Fort at Shamokin.

“Note.—Some Fachines have been lately discovered floating down the River Susquehannah a little below Shamokin, by which, as the Indians were never known to use Fachines, it is conjectured the French have begun and are actually building a Fort at that most important place.”





CHAPTER XV.

THE POWELL LIST OF SUFFERERS.



THANKS to the careful research and kind attention of Dr. Julius F. Sachse and Dr. John W. Jordan, of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and to said society for the use of its manuscript, the writer is able to make public the following most valuable list of refugees to the

Moravian Settlements, in the winter of 1756, who were cared for by the brethren. The list itself is preceded by a letter of Bishop Joseph Spangenberg, of the Moravian Church, fully explanatory of it and vouching for its authenticity.

THE LETTER.

"My Dear Friend Anthony: Please to remember, that I once wrote you in that hard Winter, when more than six Hundred Men, Women and Children, in their utmost

Distress, came to the Brethren's Settlements, in the Forks of Delaware, to find there a Shelter, and some Relief in their Wants and Nakedness; Many of them having had their houses, Barns, Cattle and all burnt and destroyed by the Savages and just having saved their Life.

"You was so kind, to communicate my Letter to some Friends, and they moved with Compassion, sent up some goods, Cloaths, etc., to relieve the said unhappy Sufferers; with Orders, that those, who had lost all they had at Gnadenhütten should by no Means be excluded from partaking of the said Charities.

"I upon that, not being able my self to make the Distribution thereof, went to one of the Magistrates of this County residing in Bethlehem, and desired him, to appoint some Persons of a noted good Character, and to give them the Charge of a prudent and faithful Distribution of the just mentioned Charities; such Things of that Nature requiring great Exactness, that they may appear just and right, when examined into, before all the World, so as they are done in the Eyes of the Lord.

"Mr. Horsfield, upon this my Request, appointed Joseph Powel, Samuel's Brother, to take the said Matter into Hand with the help of some other Brethren, who were to assist him, and He was advised first, to inquire into the Circumstances of each Family, to take down the Number of their Children, to find out what Losses they had met with, and what were their Wants and Necessities; and then to look over the List of all the Goods He had received, and to make a proper Distribution, giving them most, who had lost most, and wanted most, and giving them less, who had something left unto them, and could help themselves yet.

"He faithfully did so, to the best of his Ability (and

Woolen Stuff

No: 114

1756	Disbursed	Wd.	1756	Disbursed	Yds
Jan ^y 1.	To Phil: Scarf for Family	3 10 3/4	Jan ^y 7.	To Charles Benning good floored Flannel	510 3/4
	Red half Thicks	4 1/4	12	Flannel Michel & Sam ^y colored 9 ^o	1 1/2
	Half Thicks	6 1/2		Phil: Highman blew half Thicks	4
	Hrip: Flannel	1 1/2			3
3.	Joh: Shitterlin White 9 ^o	1 3/4	14	Henry France Red half Thicks	2
	Jasp: Duvall Red 9 ^o	1		Walter Miller & Fam ^y 9 ^o	2 1/4
	Rich: Cairns 9 ^o	6 1/2		Elias Humel Half Thicks	2 1/2
	Hrip: Flannel	2		Francis Flannel white, Flannel 9 ^o	9
	Henry Dale Half Thicks	1 1/2		George Flannel white, Flannel 9 ^o	1
	Marg: Walkern Cotton & Wool Cloth	3 3/4		Jos: Keller & Fam ^y Half Thicks	1 1/2
	Flannel	3		David M Lane Red Flannel	3 1/2
	Red half Thicks	1 1/2	16	Hartsell Greasy & Sank: half Thicks	1
	Lawrence Hartman & Family		22	Fred: Bickwin 9 ^o	1 1/4
	Cotton cheap Cloth	2 3/4	23	the Indians Flannel	3 1/2
	Red Flannel	2 3/4		Anna Hootin half Thicks	3 1/2
	Hrip: 9 ^o	4		Elizabeth Davis white Flannel	1
	Red Half Thicks	7		Gasper Bledy Half Thicks	4 1/2
Febr. 3.	Mich: Schneider & Family		25	Joh: Hunkels & Fam ^y Red Half Thicks	3 1/2
	Blew Half Thicks	3 1/2	26	Solomon Davis Half Thicks	2
	Jos: Caruna day & Fam ^y 9 ^o	3 1/2	Feb ^y 1.	George Wolf & Family 9 ^o	5 1/2 3/4
	Wm Cannaddy strip & white Flannel	8 1/2		Flannel	10 1/4
			2.	Joh: Beck & Fam ^y 9 ^o	3
Jan ^y 3.	Peter: Hoffman Red Flannel	3 1/2 1/2		Blew Straps	8
	Hrip: 9 ^o	4 3/4		Christ: Yake blew half Thicks	10 1/2
	Cotton cheap Cloth	2 3/4		George Richards, Fam ^y Strip: Flannel	2 1/2
	Fred: Hagler & Fam ^y Red & blew Half Thicks	4		white 9 ^o	2 1/2
	Peter Toll 9 ^o Half Thicks	2 1/4		half Thicks	3
	Red 9 ^o	1 1/2		Simon Bugner Flannel	3
	Red Flannel	2 1/2		Strip: Flannel	3
	Hrip: 9 ^o	1		half Thicks	3

No.	Name	Measure	Weight
1	John: Greyer	1 1/4	17 3/4
2	Nick: Rhode colourd Cloth	3	11
3	Flannel	2	3
4	John: Lindermans Wife strip: Flannel	1 1/4	1
5	Peter Conrad Redd: blow Stronds	12 1/2	1 1/2
6	Flannel	2 1/2	1 1/2
7	An Ind: Woman in Pettit: Half Thicks	3 1/2	3
8	Brown Huff	5 1/2	6
9	Kap Cloth	2 3/4	1
10	Strip: Flannel	1 1/4	1
11	White: Do	1/2	2 1/2
12	Peter Daniels, Tom: & Half Thicks	6	2 1/2
13	Red: Flannel	2 1/2	2 1/2
14	Gov. Connerly & Family Kap Cloth	10	4
15	Whit: Flannel	7	4 1/2
16	Strip: Do	9 1/4	1 1/4
17	Strip: Do	5 3/4	1 1/4
18	Strip: Do	10	2 1/2
19	Henry Blady	2	1 1/2
20	Flowerd Flannel	1	2 1/2
21	Red Stronds	3 1/2	2 1/2
22	Henry Gabroth Wife blow half: Thicks	3 1/2	1 1/4
23	Red: Do	4	2
24	Red: Flannel	2	2 1/2
25	Phil: Hock: Joyner	2	4 1/2
26	John: Hens: Costenbador Red: Strip: Do	3 3/4	4 1/2
27	Jac: Key hard: Tom: & Red: blow half: Thicks	5	1 1/2
28	Georg Bach	3	2
29	Kap Cloth	3 1/2	2 1/2
30	Red half Thicks	1 1/4	5 3/4
31	Carriad forward	51 10 3/4	2

He is a Valuable Man) and kept an Account of all things, making Himself Debtor for all, He had received, and Creditor for all, He had given to the poor Refugees, taking at the same Time Receipts for all, He gave out; when this could be done; for in some Triflings it could not be.

“When afterwards the said Joseph Powel was moving to Oblong, in Dutches County, Newyork Government, where He at present preaches the Gospel with Blessing; he had first all his Accounts enter’d into a Book, which He put into the Hands of a Magistrate of this County, to be inspected by any one, who has Reason to ask for it; viz: into the Hands of Timothy Horsefields, Esqr^s.

“Now I hear, that some unkind People have spoken ill of the Brethren, as if they had not dealt faithfully with the said Charities; and that some of the Friends have spoken in the same Way. It is pity.

“If I remember right, this is not the first Time, that I let you know, how we have acted in the said Circumstances; desiring you, to acquaint all the Benefactors with it. I hope, you have done so, but who can help against a wicked Tongue?

“However, my Dear Friend, give me Leave to ask one favour of you, viz.

“Please to lay this my Letter before the Benefactors, who sent up the said Charities for the poor Refugees?

“Please to ask them, for Goodness sake, to send up two or three Deputies, to inspect the said Accounts of Joseph Powels, and to examine them.

“This I hope will be the best way to satisfy every Body, who is suspicious about it; when He hath a Mind to be satisfied with the Truth.

“As for the Rest of the People, who don’t care what

they say wether right or wrong, wether true or false, wether good or bad; I think, we should beat the Air, in trying to set them to rights.

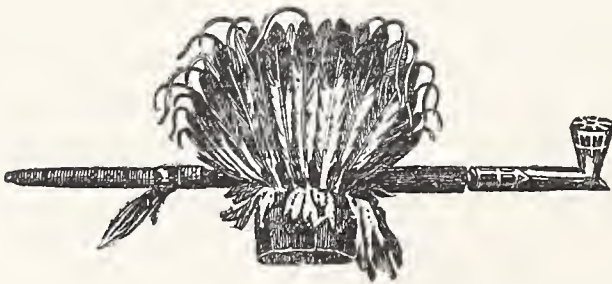
"I have thought some Times; wether the said Accounts should not be published? But considering that the Names of poor honest people must be exposed to the public (: and many poor honest people would rather suffer the greatest Hardships then see themselves in their Poverty exposed) in so doing, have thought it best, to leave it in Mr. Horsefield's hands, for the use of all, who want to see it. When once it comes in that way, that it is rather a Shame for a Christian to be rich, then to be poor (for our Master was poor in the World) I then will alter my Opinion.

"Thy affectionate

"Br. Sp."

"Bethlehem, June 10

"1757."

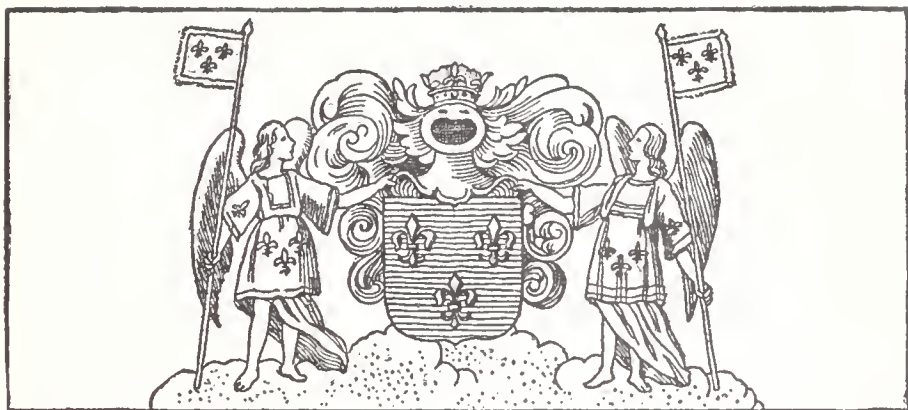


1755	Received.	lb	lb	1756	Disbursed.	lb	lb
Dec ^r	From sundry People rec ^d in Nazareth 21 Bush ^s Rye Meal at 37 lb ² / ₃ Bushl make.....		777	Jan ^{ry} 1	To 25 Families in Num- ber 105 in Bethlehem...	50	
				9	D ^o	40	
				10	Peter Kofman.....	48	
30	Sam ^l Folck in great Swamp.....	150		16	D ^o	34	
31	Hanickel in Cushe- hoppem.....	1998		21	D. M. Lane & Family	109	
1756			2148	24	D ^o	36	
				26	D ^o	45	
				30	D ^o	35	
						40	
Jan ^{ry} 2	Frencon Township ² / ₃ Chr ^a Meyer.....	382		Febr ^y	Sundry People d ^d in Nazareth.....	313	437
	Shippach ² / ₃ Valentin Hussiger.....	736		4	Ana Mar ^a Saxon.....	40	
	Sacson Township ² / ₃ Bal ^e Lawr.....	422		8	D ^o	47	
5	Lower D ^o . ² / ₃ Gratius Lark.....	217		14	D ^o	45	
Febr ^y 12	The Friends in Wor- cester.....	2239	1757	15	D ^o	42	
18	The Friends in Lower Saccon Township ² / ₃ John Nich ^s Full.....	1705		17	W ^m Camel & Family	40	
			3944	17	Mar ⁿ Dewalt & D ^o	40	
	Carried forward		8626	18	Nich ^s Bexer.....	40	
					Adam Gramlich.....	40	
					Fr ^h Segle.....	60	
					W ^m Stover.....	60	
					Leonhard Beyer.....	20	
					Peter Tull.....	70	
				20	Dan ^l Mathew.....	40	
					Anna Lindamon.....	30	
					Henry Garster.....	40	
					Peter Conrad.....	40	
					Adam Gramlich.....	40	
					Nick ^s Bexer.....	80	
					John Bartley.....	100	
					An ^a Barb ^a Freyeher..	50	
				21	John Ecker.....	15	
					D ^o	45	
				23	Ulrich Rhode.....	50	
				24	David Maclen.....	37	
				25	John Becker.....	40	
				26	Marg. Saxon.....	40	
					David Weisser.....	74	
				27	An ^a Cath ^a Nyhardt..	50	
					Jacob Haley.....	50	
					Christ ⁿ Jake.....	50	
				28	D ^o	46	
					Johanna Rone.....	40	
					J. George Beck.....	60	
				29	D ^o	100	
				March 1	Jacob Nyhardt.....	40	1974
					John Hen ^y Costen- bader.....	40	
					Elias Humel.....	40	
					Sus Rhode.....	40	
					Mich ^l Klass.....	40	
					Jasper Plile.....	40	
					Peter Adelman.....	50	
					James Mally.....	30	
				5	David Maclen.....	40	
					Carried forward	360	2411

1755	Received.	Yd ^s	1755	Disbursed.	Yd ^s
Dec ^r 30	From Friends in Philadel- phia		Dec ^r 31	To Georg Pulkhard & Wife half Thicks.....	6½
	1 Piece Half Thick.....	30		striped Linsey Woolsey...	1½
	3 Remnant of D ^o	26¾		Ephraim Colver & Family blew Strip ^d Flannell.....	1½
	Printed Flannell.....	9		Nap Cloth.....	5¾
	Red D ^o	1		Strip ^d Flannell.....	1½
	Blue Linsey Woolsey....	4¼		Stuff.....	8¾
	Strip ^d D ^o	2¼		Blew Cotton Nap Cloth...	11
	Kersey.....	3½		Red Flannel.....	6
	Stuff.....	44		Red Half Thicks.....	10½
	4 P ^s Red & 1 P ^{ce} blew Half Thick.....	150		Printed Flannell.....	4
	2 P ^s strip ^d 1 P ^{ce} white 3 P ^s red Flannell.....	244		Red D ^o	3
	4 P ^s coloured Cotton.....	82		Strip ^d D ^o	6¼
	1 P ^{ce} D ^o	25		white D ^o	6½
	Narrow gray Cloth	2		Fr ^d Jones & Family blew strip ^d Flannell.....	1½
	Stripd Flannell.....	6¼		Blew half Thicks.....	½
				Narrow Kersey Cloth.....	3½
1756		630		Blew Cotton Nap Cloth...	8
Jan ^{ry} 12	1 Piece Blew Strowds.....	22½		Blew Linsey Woolsey....	4¼
	Coloured Cloth.....	4		Half Thicks.....	13½
	Narrow blew Cloth	3		Stuff	11
	Flowred Flannell.....	4		Red Flannell	8¼
	Sarge	2		Printed D ^o	1
29	2P ^s blew half Thicks.....	60		Strip ^d D ^o	11¾
	1 P ^{ce} strip ^d Flannell.....	35		white D ^o	6
	Y ^{ds}	760½			139
				John Hillman Printed Flannell.....	1
				Red Blew & Strip ^d D ^o	29¼
				Half Thicks.....	15
				Blew Cotton Nap Cloth...	17
				Stuff	7
				Henry Countryman & Family	
				Cotton Nap Cloth.....	6
				Half Thicks.....	3¼
				Red Half Thicks.....	8½
				Red Flannell.....	3½
				Strip ^d D ^o	7¾
				Printed D ^o	1
				Strip ^d Stuff.....	½
					238¾
1756			Jan ^{ry} 1	David Brubaker & Wife Red Flannell.....	4
				Strip ^d D ^o	2½
				Printed D ^o	1
				Cotton Nap Cloth.....	3
				half Thicks	3
				Joh Jac Olger- den	
				Joh Ad Huedh } Cotton Nich ^s Huedh } Nap Cloth	15½
				Nich ^s Rhode Strowds.....	6½
				Half Thicks.....	3
				Nich ^s Sholl & Family Half Thicks.....	3½
				Flannell	1½
				John Slagel Strip ^d Flannell	2½
				White D ^o	¾
				Red D ^o	2¾
				Nap Cloth.....	3½
				George Jasp ^r Hise Cotton Nap Cloth	2¾
				Red Flannel.....	2¾
				Fred ^k Garmentown Half Thicks.....	1¼
				Mich ^l Keents & Fam ^{ly} Red half Thicks.....	1¾
				white Flannel.....	1¼
				Carried forward	310½

1756		Disbursed.	Coats.	Westcoats,	Shoes.	Jackets.	Bed-Sheet.	Stokings.
		Brought forward	2	1	99	5	1	30
Jan ^{ry}	14	To Elias Hammil						1
		Joseph Keller			2			
	16	David Mag Lane						1
	20	Indians blew and white flannel				18		
	21	Christian Klein						1
		Johan Peterson						1
	22	Hartsbel Greear sundry old Cloth's &				1		
	23	Frederick Braeker				1		
		Anna Hootin, for her 2 Sons				1		1
		Jasp ^r Bleyly's Wife, an antient Woman				1		2
	25	Joh. Runkits & Family		1				4
	26	Salomon Davis & c ^e			1			1
Febr ^y	1	Georg Woolf						5
	2	Joh. Beck			1			3
		Christian Jake & Family						1
		Jacob Haley						1
		Jacob Sickel sundry old Garments and			1			1
		Simon Rufner 1. Petticoate, Breeches and	3			4		4
		Joh. Strawl			1			
		Joh. Ecker & Family	2		2	1		1
		Nich ^l Klein			1	2		
		Joh. Christian Andrea			1	1		3
		Edmond Dall			3	2		1
		Martin Tribble						1
	3	Nich ^s Schneider and Family				3		4
		Jos. Kannaday d ^o			2	3		4
		Tho ^s Nail d ^o				2		
		Frederick Germantown			1			
		W ^m Cannaday			3	3		2
	4	David Housman			2	1		
		Tho ^s Beer		1				
		Dan. Matthews & Family			1			1
	5	Mich. Glass d ^o			1			1
	6	Mich. Fabian d ^o						3
	7	Joh ^s Bartol d ^o			2			1
		Peter Izenmon			1			2
	12	Georg Beck	1		1			
		Jacob Sheal			1			1
	13	Sam ^l Shaw and Family			1			
	15	Ludn ^y Jong d ^o						2
		Freder. West			1			1
		Mich. Cryen	1					1
	16	Jacob Kepple						1
	17	Mary Dewalt and Family						1
	18	Eva Funck						1
		Isach. Senseman			1			1
		Worbas						1
		Partsch			2			1
		Sturgeons				1		1
		Jasp ^r Payne						1
		Jos. Powel						1
		Nich ^s Rexer						1
		Adam Kramlich						1
	20	John Bartley			2			1
	23	Rich ^d Brosser			2			1
		Lorenz Nulfe	1					2
	25	Joh. Becker						3
	26	David Wifer						1
	28	Joh. Georg Beck						1
	27	Theodora an Indian Girl						1
		T ^s	10	3	136	50	1	157

		Coats.	Westcoats.	Shoes.	Jackets.	Bed-Sheet.	Stockings.
1755	<i>Disbursed.</i>						
Decemb ^r 31	To Georg Pulkhard & Wife.....			Pr			Pr
	Ephraim Colver & Family			6			1
	Fr ^s Jones d ^o			7			6
	John Hillman d ^o			10			11
	Henry Countryman d ^o			6			2
1756							4
Jan ^{ry} 1	David Bruster & Wife.....			1			2
	Joh. Iac. Olgerden, Joh. Adam Huedh, Nich ^s Heath.....			3			3
	Nich ^s Robt & Family.....			2			2
	Nich ^s Sholl d ^o			3			1
	John Slagel.....			2			1
	Frederick Germantown			2			1
	Mich. Shook.....			1			
	Mich. Keents.....			1			
	Phil Searfass & Family.....			4			2
	Georg Jasp ^r Hise						1
	Frederick Nagle.....			2			2
3	Joh. Shitterlin.....			1			1
	Jasp ^r Dewalt			3			1
	Mich Cains.....			3			2
	Henry Dele			1			
	Margr ^t Walker.....						1
	Jacob Hilckart.....						1
	Lowrance Hartman and Family.....			1			1
	Peter Hofman d ^o			3			1
	Freder. Nagle d ^o			2			
	Peter Toll d ^o			6			2
	Ulrich Rhode.....			1			1
	Matthew Shaefer.....						2
	Mary Laycock.....			1			
	Freder. Altemors.....			1			
	Joh. Kiegler.....			2			1
	Nich ^s Rhode.....			2			
	a poor Man who went to search for the Indians.....						1
	George Miller.....			1			1
	Henrich Hummel.....						1
	Joh. Lindermans Wife			2			1
	Peter Conrad and Family.....			4			3
	An Indian Woman.....						1
	Peter Daniel and Family.....			2			1
	Hannikel Hile.....			1			
	W ^m Aouber.....			2			
	Henry Bleily.....				2		4
	Henry Gaber & Wife.....			1	1		2
	Joh. Henry Costenbader.....				1		
	Jacob Neihard & Family.....			2			2
7	Char ^s Benington & Family.....			1	2		1
8	Joh. Jerem ⁱ Ore & Wife.....	1				1	
12	Hannikel Michel d ^o				1		4
	Phil. Highman.....						1
14	Henry France d ^o	1		4			3
	Walter Miller d ^o			1			1
	Carried Forward.....	2	1	99	5	1	80



CHAPTER XVI.

THE ECKERLIN TRAGEDY AND PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN MYSTICS.



THE story of the sufferings and fate of the Eckerlin (Eckerling) brothers, Pennsylvania-German mystics, in the French and Indian War, is so unique as to deserve separate notice.

The narrative, as given in "The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania," Vol. III., by Julius F. Sachse, Litt.D., is most interesting, and it is to

him the writer is indebted for the data of which he has made use.

The brothers, four in number, Samuel, Emanuel (died on January 15, 1781), Israel (born 1705) and Gabriel, were Alsatians by birth, the sons of Michael Eckerlin, and were baptized and brought up in the Lutheran faith.

The father was a reputable burgher of Strasburg, who followed the trade of cap-making, and was a man of good repute in both church and community. For some time he served as *Rathsherr* or Councillor.

Towards the close of the seventeenth century a *Collegium Pietatis* and Philadelphian Society was formed in Strasburg, the leading spirit of which was one Johann Heinrich Krafft, a shoemaker by trade but who now posed as a schoolmaster and expounder of mysticism. In this Michael Eckerlin soon became interested and a prominent member, to the neglect of his church services and duties.

It was not long before Krafft was forced, by the authorities to cease his ministrations, under penalty of expulsion from the city. His house was closed but Eckerlin was persuaded to stealthily resume the meetings in his own house, having been first induced to take to wife (being then a widower) the maid servant of Krafft, a woman of the Reformed faith who was strongly impregnated with the fanaticism of her late master. Under her tutelage he became so enrapt with the heterodox speculations that he even presided at the gatherings, in the absence of Krafft, and always offered up the opening prayer. When this became known to the authorities an official visitation was made to the Eckerlin house, by Pfarrer Iller who surprised the Collegium in full swing. A trial was held, and, on March 1, 1701, both Krafft and Eckerlin were convicted. The former was banished, the latter was deprived of his office as *Rathsherr* and ordered to abstain, in the future, from any such *Conventicula* under pain of similar expulsion.

A few years later the Eckerlin family left Strasburg and journeyed to Schwarzenau, where Michael died, when the

widow and four sons, together with Samuel's wife, emigrated to Pennsylvania, which place they reached some time during 1725. Immediately upon their arrival, the widow Eckerlin, who was a person of some means, sought the mystical "Hermits on the Ridge," and, upon their advice, bought a plantation near Germantown, of which she forthwith took possession. The building being somewhat out of order, a stonemason, named Heinrich Miller, was called in to make the necessary repairs, and, before he had finished the work, Israel Eckerlin was indentured to him for a period of two years, without any written indenture. His master was a God-fearing man and had experienced an awakening in this country.

During the sojourn of the Eckerlin family upon their farm Michael Wohlfarth was a frequent visitor at their hospitable home. Israel states that, upon such occasions, his mother and Wohlfarth were apt to prolong their talks far into the night, the theme being the state of true Christianity. Shortly after one of these visits Israel and his master came to Conrad Matthias to do some work, when he advised both, if they wanted to better their spiritual condition, to leave Germantown and go to Conestoga, where the people lived in great simplicity. This so pleased master and man that they journeyed to the Conestoga Valley in August, 1727, and there wrought at their trade. For a time they adhered to the Mennonites, whose simplicity of dress pleased them more than their mode of worship. Shortly after, the two men attended one of Beissel's meetings where they were surprised to find present an old Schwarzenau Dunker, Abraham Duboy, who, after the meeting, asked Beissel and Wohlfarth to adopt young Eckerlin, so that he should not be neglected. "Thus," Israel writes, "in this manner I came to the congregation."

About 1730 the widow Eckerlin, and the youngest son, Gabriel, came to the Conestoga Valley, and were shortly after joined by Samuel and his wife Catharina. The widow died soon after her arrival. By 1733-34 all the brothers were at the settlement on the Cocalico, and were instrumental in organizing the devotees into a semi-monastic community. All four became active revivalists and exhorters, and, at the same time, combined a remarkable executive ability with commercial shrewdness. They were the real factors of progress in the institution. Israel became known as Brother Onesimus, Samuel as Jephune, Gabriel as Jotham, and Michael as Elimelech. The records of the Ephrata community show that Catharina, wife of Samuel (Jephune) "fell asleep in the Lord" in 1733, and that Michael Wohlfarth (Brother Agonius) died May 20, 1741.

Upon the death of Agonius, Brother Onesimus became the first regular prior of the community, and second in authority. Interesting as it might be to do so, we dare not take the time to show how Beissel became jealous of the growing prominence of the Eckerlins and how he planned to accomplish their overthrow. It is enough to say that he succeeded, and that, on September 4, 1745, Onesimus, who had been deposed, with Jephune and Brother Timotheus (Alexander Mack), were forced to leave the Zion on the Cocalico, and journeyed, in a south-westerly direction, for four hundred miles, until they reached the New River in Virginia, where they settled. Three weeks later, Jotham, who had been made Prior in his brother's place, was also deposed from office, and lived in his cell in the convent Kedar as a common brother. On the fifteenth day of the tenth month Elimelech, who still held the office of the priesthood, was deposed from both Soli-

tary and Secular Congregation, and took up his home in the deserted Berghaus, where, on the twenty-third he was joined by Jotham, who had been ordered out of Kedar. On the twenty-seventh, some hours before break of day, Elimelech left Ephrata and took up a hermit's life about a mile above Zoar (Reamstown). When, on September 4, 1745, Onesimus, Jephune (Alexander Mack) Ephraim (Jacob Höhnly), and several followers, left the Kloster, and journeyed towards Virginia, their object was to bury themselves in the wilderness and to keep their destination secret. The route they took led them to the valley of the New River, where they finally decided upon a site for their future home in what are now Montgomery and Pulaski counties. For neighbors they had, besides the Indians, merely a few pioneers, trappers and outlaws. Cabins were built without delay, and before the severe weather set in, the little village was completed. Upon the first Sabbath a devout service was held, and the place was named *Mahanaim*.

Here they were joined by Jotham, and, later, reinforced by other accessions from both Ephrata and Germantown, with which places regular communications had been gradually opened up. Of the original party Timotheus was the first to return to Pennsylvania. It is related that, on a certain night, he had a vivid dream, in which it was revealed to him that the Indians were about to burn their hermitage, murder some and lead others into captivity (which was realized a decade later). He left Mahanaim some time in 1747, or early in 1748, and was soon followed by Brother Ephram, who died in Philadelphia in 1748. After a sojourn at Mahanaim of five years, Onesimus and Jotham concluded to revisit the scenes of their former activity, Jephune remaining at the New River.

It was on February 23, 1750, the little caravan, led by the two brothers, arrived in the Conestoga Valley. A halt was made at the house of one of the Sabbatarian congregation, and word of their arrival sent to the Kloster. A meeting of the brotherhood was at once convened in the great Saal by Beissel, and two of the brethren were sent as delegates to welcome them back to their old home, and offer them the hospitality of the Kloster. This was accepted, and they were received with great joy. So greatly were the two brothers moved by this cordial reception that they not only decided to live with the brethren once more but also to deposit all their acquired property in the treasury of the community, and, shortly, started on their return to obtain Jephune's consent and arrange accordingly.

So anxious was Onesimus that he left the New River in advance of the others, reaching Ephrata on April 25, 1750. Unfortunately, once more the old troubles broke out, and Jephune arrived in the fall, with the family goods, only to learn that his brother had again left the Kloster and had gone to the house of Jacob Sontag, one of the secular congregation.

The determination was quickly reached to return to the wilderness, so, having disposed of their furs for other goods, the brothers wended, anew, their way to Virginia, this time selecting for their home a location some eight or ten miles below the present Morgantown, county seat of Monongahela County, West Virginia, near the mouth of a creek emptying into the Monongahela River, where they were enabled, the first year, to raise a crop of grain and culinary vegetables sufficient for their use, while the rifle of Gabriel and rod of Samuel furnished them with an abundance of meat and fish. Their clothing was made

chiefly from the skins of wild animals and easily procured.

Here they lived, for some years, in the midst of the Delaware Indians, at peace with all the world. As Alsations, conversant with the French language, they gave no thought to the active preparations of the French soldiers for war, nor to the forts which were building upon the western frontier; beloved by the local Indians, with whom Samuel was a great favorite because of the services which he rendered them as a surgeon and physician, they had no cause for fear from that source. Israel was busy, day and night, with his mystic speculations, while Gabriel was engaged in hunting and Samuel in curing the peltries, of which piles of bearskins served as their couch by night, while, in one corner of the cabin, was a mass of skins, which could not have been bought for a hundred pounds sterling. Their chief assistant was a redemption servant, one Johann Schilling, while Daniel Hendricks was the cook of the party. Regular visits were made by Samuel, the business man, to Winchester and other frontier towns, where, on several occasions he was apprehended and imprisoned as a French spy, and was only released at the intercession of the Governor.

As the Indian troubles increased and the horrors of a border war became more and more imminent, and as the settlement was near the warpath of the hostile Indians, their Delaware friends notified Samuel that it was unsafe for them to remain longer in their exposed position, so they moved their camp to a favorable location upon their tract on the Cheat River. This clearing became known as Dunker's Bottom. For some time they remained here unmolested. Towards the close of August, 1757, Samuel started upon one of his perennial trading trips to the Virginia settlements, after the harvest had been gathered.

Upon his return he was stopped at Fort Pleasant, on the South Branch, where he was accused of being a spy and in confederacy with the Indians. In vain he explained and protested his innocence; it was only after an appeal to the Governor that he was released and allowed to start upon his homeward journey, accompanied by a squad of soldiers who were ordered to follow him to his camp on the Cheat River.

When the little cavalcade was within a day's march of the Dunker Camp a tragic scene was enacted there. Led by a French priest a party of Indians surrounded the house. Being discovered by one of the servants, who gave the alarm, an attack was made. Schilling and Jotham were quickly captured. Onesimus, who was engaged in writing a polemic to Ephrata, would neither defend himself nor attempt to escape, he having absolute faith in divine protection. His faith, in this case, was of but little avail, as he was seized and met with the same fate as his brother. The other members of the household were killed and scalped, while the two brothers and Schilling were held as captives. The cabins were then pilfered and burned. Twelve, of the twenty-eight or more horses owned by the brothers, were loaded with plunder; the rest were killed.

"As a matter of fact," says Dr. Sachse, "this raid upon the Eckerlin settlement was not a military nor political one, but was executed purely through religious motives, the object being the extermination of a heretical community within the bounds of the French territory. This is the only known case of religious persecution by the Roman Catholic clergy in provincial Pennsylvania."

The sight that met Jephune and his party was a surprise, and ample proof of the truth of his assertions. The cabins were in ashes, a smouldering ruin; the half-decaying and

mutilated bodies of the murdered Dunkers, and the carcasses of the beasts, were seen strewn about; while the hoops on which the scalps had been dried were still there, and the ruthless hand of desolation visible everywhere.

The soldiers buried the remains and Jephune, after taking a sorrowful farewell of the sad scene, ignorant of the fate of his brothers, returned with the party to the South Branch, no longer a prisoner or suspected spy.

The fate of the three prisoners was, for a long time, shrouded in mystery. Nothing definite was known, though there were rumors that they were alive and held as prisoners by the French clericals, either in Canada or France. While in this state of uncertainty Jephune left no stone unturned to learn of their fate and to secure their release if alive. It was not until after a lapse of three years and several months, after the escape and return of Johann Schilling, that the veil was partially lifted and the particulars of their fate became known.

After their capture by the Indians, and the destruction of the settlement, the French leader of the party started for Fort Duquesne, making a wide detour for fear the English would overtake them and deprive them of their valuable prizes. It was not until the seventh day after the massacre that they arrived in sight of the fort, upon the opposite side of the river. During the march the two brothers were kept securely bound and were given but little to eat. Schilling was left free and well fed. All attempts to relieve the wants of his former masters were severely punished by the captors.

Arriving at the end of their journey, they were first ordered to cut off their long beards. They were then stripped of their clothing, put into a canoe and headed for the fort. When near the shore they were thrown into

the water and pelted with stones by both the French and Indians on the shore. Both brothers were insensible when dragged out of the water. This the French fiends called their baptism. To further aggravate their sufferings, and to please the assembled French, one of the Indians scalped Jotham.

Upon their delivery into the fort they were not entered as prisoners of war, but of the church, and as dangerous heretics. The commanding officer, being a soldier and of a more humane disposition, when he learned of the treatment, ordered his men to cease these barbarities so long as the prisoners were under his charge, and directed that they be left to him for the time being. Each Indian received a blanket and pair of leggings as his share of the raid. Schilling was kept by the savages as their slave.

At the request of the clericals in the fort the two brothers were sent, under a strong guard, to Montreal, where they were placed in a Jesuit institution as dangerous heretics, all intercourse with the outside world being forbidden. Thence they were sent to Quebec, where they suffered from hunger, confinement and disease. Eventually, they were sent to France, where, it is said, they died as prisoners in a monastery. Others say they died at sea. According to the *Chronicon*:

“They indeed arrived there (France) but both afflicted with a distemper which also transported them to eternity. The prior, Onesimus, when he felt his end approaching, had himself received as a member of an order of monks of the Roman Church, which is the more credible, as he had always entertained a particular esteem for friars. They gave him the tonsure and afterwards called him ‘Bon Chrétien’ (Good Christian). Soon after both brothers departed this life.”

There is, however, nothing to prove the truth of the above statement. It was not until seven years after their capture that definite rumors reached Ephrata as to the fate of the two brothers. Jephune at once wrote a letter of inquiry to Benjamin Franklin, who was then in France, which letter is among the Franklin correspondence now in possession of the American Philosophical Society.

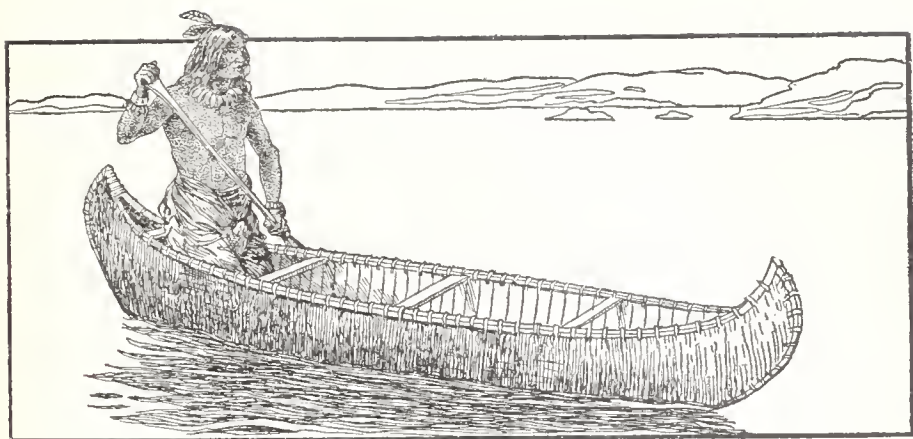
Many cases are upon record where German settlers on the Virginia frontiers fell victims to the fury of the savages. In the year 1758, a party of Indians penetrated the Mill Creek Country, nine miles south of Woodstock, and after committing some murders, carried off no less than forty-eight persons into captivity, all of whom were Germans.

Beside the Eckerlins there was another member of the Ephrata Brotherhood whose earthly career was ended by the tomahawk of the savage. This was Heinrich Zinn, who left the Kloster shortly after the Eckerlins and went to the Valley of Virginia. He was living at the time with a family named Bingamann, near the present site of New Market. When the Indians attacked the house a determined defense was made by Bingamann, who was both stout and active. He laid low two of the savages; according to another account he killed five. The barbarians succeeded, however, in slaughtering his wife and children, together with the peaceful Zinn. Bingamann escaped, with several wounds from which he finally recovered.

As the war clouds thickened during the Pontiac outbreak, and the danger appeared threatening, the celibate colony, consisting of twenty-six persons, came to Pennsylvania and distributed themselves between Ephrata and Germantown. Among these refugees were the Kolbs and Luthers who became the surviving celibates of the Ephrata Kloster.

After the Indian troubles were settled, and the danger over, a number of the Ephrata celibates and Germantown Dunkers returned to the Shenandoah. Others took up lots in the new town of Stövertown (Strasburg) and erected mills and potteries in the vicinity.





CHAPTER XVII.

THE PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENSE.



WHEN we consider that absolutely no attempt was made to prepare in advance, for the savage outbreak which started in the fall of 1755, we can imagine in what a chaotic condition everything was when the blow once fell. The settlers, without arms or organization, defended themselves as best they could, but their best was of no practical avail, and we have read of the slaughter and destruction which fol-

lowed, as well as of the fugitives who, for a time, filled the country as they fled from the blackened ruins of their homes.

Naturally, the first thought to suggest itself, as the most speedy remedy for the evil, was the hasty formation of independent companies for short terms of service. Accordingly, many such companies were organized, some of which have already been mentioned. As their service was

of so little value, and for so brief a time, no attempt will be made to dwell on the subject. Merely as a matter of interest we may say that, on the Susquehanna River, Captain McKee was actively engaged; between the Susquehanna and the Schuylkill rivers we find the territory covered by Captain Adam Read, living on the Swatara Creek, and Captain Peter Heydrick, near the Swatara Gap, besides the great work done by Conrad Weiser and his family; the two Captains Wetterholt ranged the district on both sides of the Lehigh River; around the Moravian settlements, and as far as the Delaware River, we find Captains Wayne, Hays, Jennings, McLaughlin and Van Etten. Many of these companies, however, were quickly reorganized, and incorporated into the Provincial Regiment then formed, about which we will hear, more fully, later on.

I have selected a couple sample "Articles of Agreement," entered into by members of these short term bodies, which I give, herewith, for the benefit of the reader.

"ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT OF CAPTAIN McLAUGHLIN'S
COMPANY, 1755.

"EASTON, 29 Dec^r, 1755.

"*Sir:*

"We the Subscribers do hereby engage ourselves to serve as Soldiers in His Majesty's Service under the Command of Captain James McLaughlin, for the space of Two Months, and whoever of us shall desert or prove cowardly in time of action, or disobedient to our officers, shall forfeit his Pay. This agreement we make in Consideration of being allowed at the rate of Six Dollars per Months, Arms, Ammunition, Blankets, Provisions and a Gill of Rum per day for each man. The Blanket, Arms and Ammunition left to be returned when we are discharged from the Service."

"AGREEMENT CAPT. VAN ETTEN'S COMPANY.

"JANY 12th, 1756.

"We, the Subscribers, do hereby engage ourselves to Serve as Soldier's in his Majesty's Service, under the command of Captain John Vanetta for the Space of one month, and whoever of us shall get drunk, desert, or prove cowardly in Time of Action, or disobedient to our Officers, shall forfeit his Pay. This agreement we make in Consideration of being allow'd at the rate of Six Dollars per month, Wages, One Dolar for the Use of a Gun and Blanket, to each man who shall furnish himself with them, and the Provisions and Rum mentioned in a Paper hereunto annex'd."

This obligation was signed by nearly fifty soldiers, whose names, unfortunately, are not now obtainable.

In justice to the fair name of Pennsylvania, than which no other state, province, or colony has ever been more patriotic or loyal, it is but right for us to remember, at this point, that much of the blame, which is due for the want of defensive preparation, and for the want of harmony between the Executive and the Assembly, was not owing to a lack of sympathy for the hapless settlers, on the frontiers, but to the peculiar religious belief of many of those who made up the dominant part of the population, which caused them to abstain from participation, of any sort, in what pertained to war or bloodshed. Once the danger was really at hand, however, action was at once taken, late though it may have been, and a carefully prepared system of defense arranged.

The better to understand what was needed for this purpose we must not overlook the peculiar nature of the hostilities which were actively carried on. Though called "The French and Indian War," so far as Pennsylvania

was concerned, and especially the more closely settled portion of it, in which we are particularly interested, it was, more truthfully, an "Indian War" alone, and carried on entirely after the Indian fashion. The attacks were not made by disciplined troops in large bodies, or in any numbers combined, but small parties of savages, from three to ten or twenty, would creep noiselessly past alert and watchful sentries, and suddenly fall upon their unsuspecting victims, just as suddenly disappearing after their horrible work had been completed, long before the alarm could be spread and the most active troops overtake them.

This required a peculiar system of defense, necessitating, practically, the inclosing of the populous part of the Province within one immense barricade, or fence. To that end a continuous line of forts was established, from ten to twenty miles apart, beginning near the Maryland boundary of Pennsylvania and extending as far north as Lewistown, on the western side of the Susquehanna River, and along the Blue Mountains, from Harrisburg to Stroudsburg, on the Delaware River, to the east of the Susquehanna. Owing to the more scattered nature of the settled localities west of the river the stockades were not there placed with the regular continuity of those along the Blue Range, but, rather, in accordance with the needs of the people.

All these forts were garrisoned by detachments of the Pennsylvania Regiment, and served as headquarters from which squads issued regularly to range the country. Along the mountain, between the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers, these patrols were made daily, thus keeping up a constant intercourse between the various forts.

In addition to the above, which was, in fact, a line of *defense*, and the purpose of which was to prevent the

marauding parties of savages from penetrating into the settlements, Fort Augusta was established at Shamokin (Sunbury), as an advance post, to forestall the anticipated efforts of the French to occupy that commanding position, and as a nucleus, if need be, for offensive operations against the Delawares to the north of the Blue Mountains. As a base of supplies for this outpost Fort Halifax was built in Dauphin County, and, for the same purpose, to a great extent, Fort Hunter was located just above Harrisburg.

Almost without exception these forts were composed of a stockade of heavy planks, inclosing a space of greater or lesser extent, on which were built from one to four log-houses as bastions to the stockade, which served as quarters, etc., for the troops, and, very frequently were occupied by refugee settlers who constantly fled to them for protection. The block-houses and stockades were pierced with loop-holes for musketry firing, and, in the case of the larger and more substantial defenses, where the stockades were of considerable height, a platform was built around the interior of the fence from which the firing took place.

It would be but natural to infer, from a consideration of this well-planned system of defense, that safety was, at last, insured the hapless settler. As a matter of fact, this was far from the case. As we read of the harrowing scenes, which constantly occurred, we would be almost prompted to say that the people were but little better off than before. To be sure they did have these places of refuge, and without doubt the presence of the soldiers did have a restraining effect upon the Indians; it is equally true that no better system of defense could have been adopted, and there can be no question as to the bravery

of the troops, as well as to the conscientious performance of their duty, yet, notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of the bravest sentinel, in spite of the most thorough ranging of the most capable officer, the savage noiselessly crept past and through the lines, to wreak vengeance, satiate his passions, and hurry away once more, leaving behind him but the blackened ruins of homes, with the dead bodies of their inmates for the soldiers to gaze upon when they reached the scene of action after using the utmost dispatch.

This necessitated, then, the establishment and use of subsidiary places of defense, especially during the harvest time when guards were needed to protect the farmers while gathering their grain. These comprised, generally, private houses, of a substantial character, which were suitably located, and around which there was often built the usual stockade. At times, when such buildings were not available, block-houses were erected by the people. All of these auxiliary defenses were likewise garrisoned by provincial troops, as occasion demanded.

Even this did not, at times, meet all requirements. There were not enough soldiers obtainable for all places. With widely scattered plantations, in time of sudden forays there was no opportunity given to reach either an established fort, or even a subsidiary defense, so that the settlers were obliged to select, here and there from among their own homes, "houses of refuge," which were pierced for musketry, or otherwise arranged for defense.

For the garrisoning of these various forts and houses, and for such other operations as were necessary, the Government organized a regiment of troops, called the "Pennsylvania Regiment," of which the Governor, himself, was, ex-officio, colonel and commander-in-chief. It was divided into three battalions, the First Battalion, com-

manded by Lieutenant Colonel Conrad Weiser, consisting of ten companies and some five hundred men, who guarded the territory along the Blue Range, between the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers; the Second Battalion, Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong, eight companies, four hundred men, in charge of the district west of the Susquehanna, and the Third Battalion, Colonel William Clapham (April, 1756), eight companies, four hundred men, which was called the "Augusta Regiment" because of its location in and about Fort Augusta.

In the early history of the regiment the term of enlistment did not exceed one year, but this time was speedily lengthened to an enlistment of three years. As the war progressed, and more aggressive operations were undertaken, various companies and parts of the several battalions were transferred from one point to another, as will appear later on.

The list of government forts, in the regular line of defense, is as follows:

Fort Lowther, built 1753, Carlisle, Cumberland County.

Fort Morris, built 1755, Shippensburg, Cumberland County.

Fort Shirley, built 1755, Shirleysburg, Huntingdon County.

Fort Granville, built 1755, Lewistown, Mifflin County.

Fort Loudoun, built 1756, Loudoun, Franklin County.

Fort Lyttleton, built 1756, Sugars Cabins, Fulton County (southern part).

Fort Augusta, built 1756, Sunbury, Northumberland County.

Fort Halifax, built 1756, Halifax, Dauphin County.

Fort Hunter, built 1756, Rockville, Dauphin County.

Fort Manada, built 1756, Manada Gap, Dauphin County.

Fort Swatara, built 1756, Swatara Gap, Lebanon County.

Fort Henry, built 1756, Millersburg, Berks County.

Fort Northkill, built 1756, Strausstown, Berks County.

Fort Lebanon, built 1756, Auburn, Schuylkill County.

Fort Franklin, built 1756, Snydersville, Schuylkill County.

Fort Everett, built 1756, Lynnport, Lehigh County.

Fort Allen, built 1756, Weissport, Carbon County.

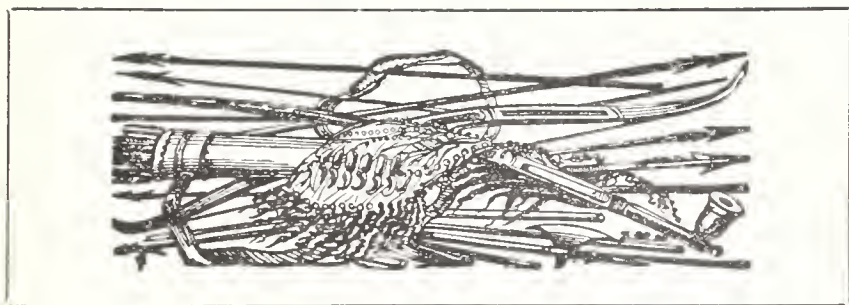
Fort Norris, built 1756, Kresgeville, Monroe County.

Fort Hamilton, built 1756, Stroudsburg, Monroe County.

Fort Hyndshaw, built 1756, Bushkill, Monroe County.

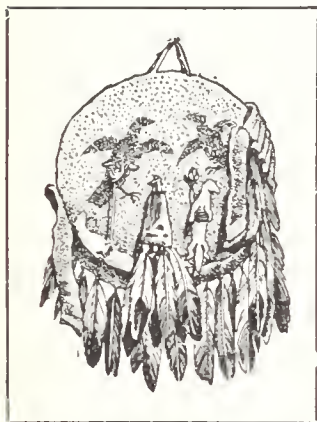
Each defense, whether regular or subsidiary, will be taken up separately, and its record given. Those along the Blue Range, which are especially germane to our subject, will be treated fully, while those north of the mountains, and west of the Susquehanna, will be touched upon more lightly.

Various rolls are in the Pennsylvania Archives of the soldiers of the French and Indian War. A number of them refer to the militia of the "lower counties," Philadelphia County in especial, who saw no active service. In other cases the provincial establishment is given from one year to another, thereby repeating names of officers. I have selected certain lists, which bear especially upon our subject and which, at the same time, give the reader much information in connection with it, which should serve to make clear the incidents and facts related herein. I believe them to be all that may be needed for our purpose. They are given in the succeeding chapter.



CHAPTER XVIII.

SOME SERVICE ROLLS OF THE WAR.



*Officers of the Provincial Service,
1755.*

THESE refer especially to what
I have called the short term
independent companies.

Lieutenant Colonels.

James Burd,
Benjamin Chambers,
Conrad Weiser.
Timothy Horsfield,

Major.

William Parsons.

Captains.

George Croghan, "at Aughwick."
Alexander Culbertson, "Lurgan twp., Cumb. Co."
Rev. John Steel, "at McDowell's Mill."
Christian Bussé.
Hans Hamilton.
Jacob Morgan, "Forks of Schuylkill."
James Wright.
William Trent, "mouth of Conegochege."

Isaac Wayne, "at Nazareth."

James McLaughlin.

Frederick Smith, "at Tolehaio & Monody."

Jonas Seely.

Adam Reed, "on Susquehanna."

John Van Etten, "Upper Smithfield, North'n Co.

—— Craig, "Lehigh twp., North'n Co."

—— Trexler, "Lyn & Heidleberg twp., North'n Co."

Nicholas Wetherholt.

Charles Foulk, "at Gnadenhütten."

Jacob Orndt, "at Gnadenhütten."

Thomas McKee, "at Hunter's Mills."

James Patterson.

Rev. Thomas Barton.

Adam Hoopes (commissary).

Dr. Mercer, "at Fort Shirley."

Lieutenants.

—— Davis,

James Hyndshaw,

William Spearing,

James Hays.

A LIST OF THE OFF'RS IN THE PROVINCE PAY, WITH THE
DATES OF THEIR COMMISSIONS (1756-7).

Commissary General of Musters.

Elisha Saltar, March 28, 1756.

First Battalion.

Lieutenant Colonel, Conrad Weiser, May 5, 1756.

Major, William Parsons, May 14, 1756.

Captain, Conrad Weiser (L. C.), May 5, 1756.

Lieutenant, Samuel Weiser, Capt. Lieut., July 3, 1756.

Ensign, Henry Geiger, December 20, 1755.

Captain, William Parsons, (M) May 14, 1756.

Lieutenant, Jacob Wetterholt, December 20, 1755, left
out in the new regulation, December, 1757.

Ensign, Martin Everhart, December 20, 1755, left out in the new regulation, December, 1757.

Captain, Frederick Smith, November 14, 1755.

Lieutenant, Anthony Mill, December 29, 1755.

Ensign, Nicholas Conrad, December 29, 1755.

Captain, Jacob Morgan, December 5, 1755.

Lieutenant, Andrew Engle, January 5, 1756.

Ensign, Jacob Kern, January 5, 1756.

Captain, John Nicholas Wetterholt, December 21, 1755.

Lieutenant, James Hyndshaw, January 12, 1756.

Ensign, Daniel Harry, January 26, 1756; left out in the new regulation, December, 1757.

Captain, Christian Bussé, January 5, 1756.

Lieutenant, Samuel Humphreys, January 25, 1756.

Ensign, William Johnson, March 12, 1756.

Captain, Jacob Orndt, April 19, 1756.

Lieutenant, Philip Marsloff, April 27, 1756; left out in the new regulation, December, 1757.

Ensign, Jacob Krieder, May 19, 1756.

Captain, John Van Etten, May, 1756.

Lieutenant, Samuel Allen, May 19, 1756.

Ensign, Jacob Snyder.

Sergeant, Color, John Van Etten, Jun.

Sergeant, Leonard Derr.

Captain, George Reynolds, May 17, 1756.

Lieutenant, Philip Weiser, July 3, 1756.

Captain, James Patterson.

Lieutenant, Hugh Crawford.

Ensign, Thomas Smallman.

Captain, Charles Foulk.

Lieutenant, Michael Beltz.

Sergeant, John White.

Sergeant, Dewalt Bossing.

Corporal, Christian Weirick.

Privates.

Michael Laury,

Killian Long.

Second Battalion.

Lieutenant Colonel, John Armstrong, May 11, 1756.*Surgeon*, Dr. Jamison; killed by the Indians near McCord's Fort, April, 1756.*Commissary of Provisions*, Adams Hoopes.*Captain*, John Armstrong, January, 1756; *Lieutenant Colonel*. Wounded at Kittanning, September 7, 1756.*Lieutenant*, Robert Callender, (*Captain Lieutenant*), January 16, 1756.*Ensign*, James Potter, February 17, 1756.*Privates.*

Caruthers, Jas., wounded at K.

Forster, Thomas, wounded at K.

McCormick, John, killed at K.

Power, Thomas, killed at K.

Strickland, James, wounded at K.

Captain, Hance Hamilton, January 16, 1756.*Lieutenant*, William Thompson, January 16, 1756.*Ensign*, John Prentice, May 22, 1756.*Sergeant*, William McDowell.*Private*, Kelly, John, killed at K.*Captain*, John Potter, February 17, 1756.*Lieutenant*, William Armstrong, May 10, 1756.*Ensign*, James Potter, April 17, 1756, wounded at K.*Privates.*

Douglass, Andrew, wounded at K.

Corkem, James, captured by the Indians, November, 1756.

Cornwall, William, captured by the Indians, November, 1756.

McCafferty, Bartholomew, killed near McDowell's Fort, November, 1756.

McDonald, James, killed near McDowell's Fort, November, 1756.

McDonald, William, killed near McDowell's Fort, November, 1756.

McQuoid, Anthony, killed near McDowell's Fort, November, 1756.

Captain, Hugh Mercer, March 6, 1756, wounded at K.

Lieutenant, James Jayes, May 22, 1756.

Ensign, William Lyon, May 22, 1756, resigned.

Ensign, John Scott, July, 1756, wounded at K.

Privates.

Baker, John, killed at Kittanning.

Burke, Thomas.²⁴

Carrigan, Bryan, killed at K.

Fitzgibbins, Richard, wounded at K.

Kilpatrick, Dennis, killed at K.

McCartney, John, killed at K.

McGinnis, Cornelius, killed at K.

Minskey, Emanuel.²⁴

Morrow, Robert.²⁴

Mullen, Patrick, killed at K.

Pendergrass, Philip.²⁴

Phillips, Francis.²⁴

Taylor, John.²⁴

Thompson, Theophilus, killed at K.

Captain, George Armstrong, May 22, 1756.

Lieutenant, James Hogg, May, 1756, killed at K.

Ensign, Nathaniel Cartland, May 22, 1756; left out in the new regulation, December, 1757.

²⁴ Missing at the capture of Kittanning.

Privates.

Anderson, James, killed at K.
Appleby, George.²⁴
Baker, William.²⁴
Camplin, Thomas, wounded at K.
Findley, William, wounded at K.
Ferral, John, wounded at K.
Grissy, Anthony.²⁴
Higgins, James, killed at K.
Hunter, William.²⁴
Lasson, John, killed at K.
Lewis, John.²⁴
O'Brien, Edward, killed at K.
O'Neal, Charles, wounded at K.
Robinson, Robert, wounded at K.
Stringer, Holdcraft, killed at K.
Swan, Thomas.²⁴

Captain, Edward Ward, May 22, 1756.

Lieutenant, Edward Armstrong, May 22, 1756; killed at the capture and burning of Fort Granville, July 30, 1756.

Ensign, John Lowdon, April 19, 1756, "living at Susquehanna."

Privates.

Bratton, Ephraim, wounded at K.
Chambers, Samuel.²⁴
Daunahow, Lawrence.²⁴
Myers, Patrick.²⁴
Welch, William, killed at K.
Captain, Rev. John Steel, March 25, 1756.
Lieutenant, James Holliday, March 25, 1756.
Ensign, Archibald Irwin, April, 1756.
Private, Cannaberry, Terence.²⁴

²⁴ Missing at the capture of Kittanning.

Captain, Alexander Culbertson; killed by the Indians near McCord's Fort, April, 1756.

Captain, Joseph Montgomery, October 5, 1756.

Ensign, Thomas Smallman, May 22, 1756.

Third Battalion.

(Third Battalion (known as Augusta Regiment). "In 1756, I again entered the service as a Sergeant, in Capt. Thomas Lloyd's company, and at my arrival at John Harris' (now Harrisburg), where the Battalion which was intended to march against the Indians at Shamokin, rendezvouzed under the immediate command of the Governor of the Province, Robert Hunter Morris, I was selected to attend the Commander-in-Chief as Orderly-Sergeant, in which capacity I continued until a day or two before the Governor left, when he was pleased to give me an Ensign's commission. As soon as the troops were collected and properly equipped, we marched for Shamokin. We crossed the Susquehanna and marched on the west side thereof, until we came opposite to where the town of Sunbury now stands, where we crossed over in Batteaux. In building the fort at Shamokin, Capt. Levi Trump and myself had charge of the workmen, and after it was finished our Battalion remained there in garrison until the year 1758."—Miles manuscript.)

Lieutenant Colonel, William Clapham, March 29, 1756.

Major, James Burd, April 24, 1756.

Adjutant, Asher Clayton, May 24, 1756.

Aid-de-Camp, Thomas Lloyd, April 2, 1756.

Commissary of Provisions, Peter Bard.

Wagon Master, &c., Robert Irwin, April 12, 1756.

Captain, William Clapham, March 29, 1756; Lieutenant Colonel.

Lieutenant, Levi Trump, April 3, 1756.

Ensign, John Mears, April 20, 1756.

Captain, Thomas Lloyd, April 2, 1756; Aid-de-Camp.

Lieutenant, Patrick Davis (Davies), April 4, 1756.

Ensign, Samuel J. Atlee, April 23, 1756.

Captain, Joseph Shippen, April 3, 1756.

Lieutenant, Charles Garraway, April 15, 1756.

Ensign, Charles Brodhead, April 29, 1756.

Captain, Patrick Work, April 22, 1756.

Lieutenant, Daniel Clark, May 1, 1756.

Ensign, William Patterson, May 14, 1756.

Captain, James Burd, April 24, 1756; Major.

Lieutenant, William Anderson, May 10, 1756.

Ensign, John Morgan, May 24, 1756.

Captain, Elisha Saltar, May 11, 1756.

Lieutenant, Asher Clayton, May 24, 1756; Adjutant.

Ensign, Samuel Miles, May 24, 1756; to Lieutenant, August 21, 1756.

Ensign, Alexander McKee.

Captain, David Jameson, May 1, 1756.

Lieutenant, William Clapham, Jr., August 20, 1756.

Ensign, Joseph Scott, May 24, 1756.

Captain, John Hambright, June 12, 1756.

Lieutenant, William Plunkett.

Ensign, Patrick Allison, June 25, 1756.

Captain, Nathaniel Miles.

Lieutenant, ——— Bryan.

Ensign, ——— Johnson.

Sergeant, ——— McCurdy.

MEN OF CAPTAIN JAMISON'S COMPANY KILLED OR
WOUNDED NEAR McCORD'S FORT, APRIL 2, 1756.

(Franklin County, a few miles N. W. of Loudoun, Pa.)

Barnett, John, killed.

Campbell, James.

Chambers, William, killed.

Gutton, Matthew.

Hunter, William.

James, Henry.

McDonald, John.

Mackey, Daniel, killed.

Pierce, James, killed.

Reynolds, John, killed.

Reynolds, William.

Robertson, James (tailor), killed.

Robertson, James (weaver), killed.

STATION OF THE PROVINCIAL FORCES; June, 1756.

Reading, Lieutenant Colonel Weiser's company.

Fort at North Kill, Lieutenant Engle, Sergeant and 16
men of Captain Jacob Morgan's company.

Fort Lebanon, Captain Morgan's militia detachment.

Fort Henry, Captain Christian Bussé.

Fort Allen, at Gnadenhütten, Lieutenant Jacob Meas
with 25 men of Captain Chas. Foulk's company.

Fort Norris, Captain Jacob Orndt and 21 men.

(*Hyndshaw Fort*), Lieutenant James Hyndshaw, of
Captain Wetterholt's company.

Wind Gap, Ensign Daniel Harry, of Captain Wetter-
holt's company.

Nazareth Mill, Captain Enslee, Ensign Enslee and 24
men.

Lehigh Gap, north side, Sergeant and 8 men.

Fort Hamilton, Lieutenant —— and 15 men.

Dupue's, Captain Wetterholt's company.

Harris's, Sergeant —— and 12 men.

Hunter's Fort, Ensign Johnson and 24 men.

McKee's Store, Ensign Mears and 24 men.

Fort Halifax, Captain Nathaniel Miles and 30 men.

CAPTAIN FREDERICK SMITH'S COMPANY.

"*In the Hole*," at the Moravian House, 8 men.

"*Fort under the Hill*," 24 men.

"*Manity (Manada) Fort*," Lieutenant Miller and 16 men. Jacob Ellis and James Brown killed by Indians, August 6, 1756.

CAPTAIN CHRISTIAN BUSSÉ'S COMPANY.

"*At Bernard Friedli's*, next to the Moravians," 10 men.

"*At Casper Snebelie's*," 8 men.

"*At Daniel Shue's or Peter Kolp's*," 6 men.

NAMES OF THE OFFICERS IN THE PAY OF THE PROVINCE
OF PENNSYLVANIA, WITH THE DATES OF THEIR
COMMISSIONS, THEIR COMPANIES, AND WHERE
POSTED; December, 1757.

The Governor, Hon. William Denny, *Colonel*.

Lieutenant, Asher Clayton, December 1, 1757; Captain
Lieutenant.

Alexander McKee.

Ensign, Joseph Falsoner, December 7, 1757.

(Late Clapham's company, Fort Augusta.)

Captain, Conrad Weiser, December 1, 1757; Lieutenant
Colonel.

Samuel Weiser.

Lieutenant, Samuel Allen, December 2, 1757.

Ensign, Edward Biddle, December 3, 1757.
(Eastward of Susquehanna.)

Captain, John Armstrong, December 2, 1757; Lieutenant Colonel.

Lieutenant, James Potter, December 4, 1757.

Ensign, ———Stiltzer, December, 1757.
Martin Heidler.
(Westward of Susquehanna.)

Captain, James Burd, December 3, 1757; Major.

Lieutenant, William Patterson, December 12, 1757.

Ensign, Thomas Hays, December 2, 1757.
Caleb Graydon, December, 1757.
(Fort Augusta.)

Captain, Hugh Mercer, December 4, 1757; Major.

Lieutenant, Thomas Smallman, December 5, 1757.

Ensign, Robert Anderson, December 5, 1757.
(Westward of Susquehanna.)

Captain, Christian Bussé, December 5, 1757.

Lieutenant, Jacob Kerns, December 23, 1757; Adjutant.

Ensign, George Craighead, December 8, 1757.
(Eastward of Susquehanna.)

Captain, Hance Hamilton, December 6, 1757.

Lieutenant, Jacob Snyder, December 13, 1757.

Ensign, Hugh Crawford, March 11, 1758.
(Westward of Susquehanna.)

Captain, Thomas Lloyd, December 7, 1757 (February 22, 1758).

Lieutenant, Samuel Miles, December 14, 1757.

Ensign, Adam Henry, December 6, 1757.
(Fort Augusta.)

Captain, Joseph Shippen, December 8, 1757.

Lieutenant, Joseph Scott, December 15, 1757.

Ensign, Henry Haller, December 12, 1757.

(Fort Augusta.)

Captain, David Jamison, December 9, 1757.

Lieutenant, William Reynolds, December 19, 1757.

Ensign, ——— Gardner, March 10 (1758).

(Fort Augusta.)

Captain, Jacob Orndt, December 10, 1757.

Lieutenant, James Hays, December 3, 1757.

Ensign, Joseph Quicksell, December 9, 1757.

(Eastward of Susquehanna.)

Captain, Patrick Work, December 11, 1757.

Lieutenant, Samuel J. Atlee, December 7, 1757.

Ensign, Caleb Graydon, December 13, 1757.

(Fort Augusta.)

Captain, George Armstrong, December 12, 1757.

Lieutenant, John Prentice, December 6, 1757.

Ensign, Francis Johnston, December 15, 1757; transferred.

James Pollock, January 4 (1758).

(Westward of Susquehanna.)

Captain, Edward Ward, December 13, 1757.

Lieutenant, Henry Geiger, December 21, 1757.

Ensign, Joseph Armstrong, February 22 (1758).

(Westward of Susquehanna.)

Captain, John Hambright, December 14, 1757.

Lieutenant, Patrick Allison, December 16, 1757.

Ensign, John Morgan, December 1, 1757.

(Fort Augusta.)

Captain, Robert Callender, December 15, 1757.

Lieutenant, Thomas Hutchins, December 18, 1757.

Ensign, John Philip De Haas.

(Westward of Susquehanna.)

Captain, James Patterson, December 16, 1757.

Lieutenant, Nicholas Conrad, December 22, 1757.

Ensign, Edmund Matthews, March 14 (1758).

(Eastward of Susquehanna.)

Captain, Levi Trump, December 17, 1757.

Lieutenant, Charles Brodhead, December 8, 1757.

Ensign, Jacob Morgan, Jun., March 12 (1758).

(Fort Augusta.)

Captain, Jacob Morgan, December 18, 1757.

Lieutenant, Samuel Humphreys, December 11, 1757.

Ensign, Joseph Armstrong, Jun., February 22 (1758).

Daniel Harry, December 6, 1757.

Sergeant, Robert Smith.

Edmund Matthews.

(Eastward of Susquehanna.)

Captain, John Nicholas Wetherholt, December 19,
1757.

Lieutenant, James Laughrey, December 20, 1757.

Ensign, John Lyttle, December 11, 1757.

(Eastward of Susquehanna.)

Captain, Samuel Weiser, December 20, 1757.

Lieutenant, James Hyndshaw, December 10, 1757.

Ensign, John Kennedy, December 13, 1757.

(Eastward of Susquehanna.)

Captain, William Thompson, December 21, 1757.

Lieutenant, William Lyon, December 6, 1757.

Ensign, Thomas Hayes, December 2, 1757.

(Westward of Susquehanna.)

Captain, Patrick Davis, December 22, 1757.

Lieutenant, Andrew Engle, December 9, 1757.

Ensign, James Hughes, December 4, 1757.

William Work, March 15 (1758).

(Eastward of Susquehanna.)

Captain, Charles Garraway, December 23, 1757.

Lieutenant, Alexander McKee, December 17, 1757.

Ensign, James Hughes, December 4, 1757.

(Eastward of Susquehanna.)

Captain, William Armstrong, December 24, 1757.

Lieutenant, William Blyth, December 24, 1757.

Ensign, Francis Johnston.

(Westward of Susquehanna.)

MUSTER ROLL OF ALL THE MEN WHO HAVE ENLISTED
FOR THE SPACE OF THREE YEARS OF THE COM-
PANY UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPTAIN
JOHN NICHOLAS WEATHERHOLT, STA-
TIONED IN HEYDELBERG TOWNSHIP,
NORTHAMPTON COUNTY, FOR
MONTHS OF MARCH AND
APRIL, 1758.

(Name, age, where born, date of enlistment and occupation.)

Captain, John Nicholas Weatherholt, 34, Ger., December 16, 1755.

Lieutenant, James Laughrey, December 20, 1757.

Ensign, John Lytle, December 11, 1757.

Surgeon, Jacob Streader, 33, Ger., September 1, 1757.

Drummer, Leonard Hayshill, 36, Ger., December 4, 1757.

Fifer, John Kaup, 25, Ger., September 1, 1757.

Sergeants, Cass, Peter, 26, Ger., September 1, 1757, shipper.

Wassum, Conrad, 39, Ger., September 1, 1757.

Corporals, Acre, Henry, 23, Penna., September 1, 1757.

Lutz, John, 25, Ger., September 1, 1757, tailor.

Privates.

Althain, Nicholas, 24, Ger., January 1, 1758.

Billik, Frederick, 19, Penn'a, September 1, 1757.

Bowman, Christian, 22, Ger., September 1, 1757.

Brining, Philip, 27, Ger., September 1, 1757.

Brown, George, 23, Ger., September 1, 1757, butcher.

Buckhamer, John, 25, Ger., September 1, 1757.

Crantlemeyer, Philip, 21, Ger., September 1, 1757.

Creekery (Gregory), George, 16, Penn'a, September 1, 1757.

Dadson, Richard, 24, Penn'a, November 28, 1757.

Deatenberger, Henry, 36, Ger., September 1, 1757.

Deatry, Nicholas, 18, Ger., September 1, 1757.

Dormeyer, Jacob, 23, Ger., September 1, 1757.

Everhard, Conrad, 23, Ger., October 13, 1757, weaver.

Flaek, John, 25, Ger., September 1, 1757.

Fisher, Matthias, 20, Ger., September 1, 1757.

Frydel, Christopher, 24, Ger., February 7, 1758.

George, Adam, 17, Ger., September 1, 1757.

Gips, Nicholas, 20, Ger., September 1, 1757.

Granshaar, John, 21, Ger., December 5, 1757, house-carpenter.

Henry, George, 35, Ger., October 25, 1757.

Husley, Jacob, 23, Ger., September 1, 1757.

Kline, John, 24, Ger., September 1, 1757.

Kline, Philip, 34, Ger., June 14, 1757.
 Koch, William, 25, Penn'a, September 6, 1757.
 Laughry, Dennis, 20, Ir., February 1, 1758.
 Lieser, Frederick, 19, Ger., June 21, 1757.
 Miller, Nicholas, 17, Ger., September 1, 1757.
 Miller, Peter, 22, Ger., September 1, 1757.
 Neifert, Jacob, 21, Ger., September 1, 1757.
 Paul, Nicholas, 21, Ger., September 1, 1757.
 Preis, John George, 21, Ger., September 1, 1757.
 Reag, Peter, 37, Ger., September 1, 1757, baker.
 Reifel, Jacob, 23, Ger., September 1, 1757, carpenter.
 Road, Godfried, 26, Ger., September 6, 1757, blue-dyer.
 Road, Jacob, 23, Penn'a, September 6, 1757.
 Rost, Henry, 23, Ger., February 15, 1758.
 Sealner, John, 35, Ger., September 1, 1757.
 Shenk, Jacob, 20, Ger., November 6, 1757.
 Shmaus, Conrad, 22, Ger., Sept. 1, 1757.
 Stahl, George, 23, Ger., September 1, 1757.
 Steap, Peter, 22, Ger., September 1, 1757.
 Stouter, Casper, 25, Ger., September 1, 1757, fiddler.
 Weyerbacher, John, 30, Ger., September 1, 1757, tailor.
 Wurtenberg, Michael, 22, Ger., December 1, 1757.
 Yoder, Jacob, 22, Penn'a, November 6, 1757, saddler.
 Zips, Joseph, 20, Ger., September 1, 1757, tailor.

THE PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT, CONSISTING OF THREE
 BATTALIONS, THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM DENNY,
 ESQUIRE, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR OF THE
 PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA, COLONEL-
 IN-CHIEF; 1758.

Brevet Lieutenant Colonel, Joseph Shippen.

Commissary of the Musters and Paymaster, James Young.

Surgeon, John Bond, at Fort Augusta, May 11, 1758.

Chaplain, Rev. Thomas Barton, June 11, 1758.

Wagon Master, Robert Irwin.

Deputy Wagon Master, Mordecai Thompson, of Chester County.

FIRST BATTALION.

Colonel Commandant, John Armstrong, May 27, 1758.

Lieutenant Colonel, Hance Hamilton, May 31, 1758.

Patrick Work, March, 1759.

Major, Jacob Orndt, June 2, 1758.

Surgeon, John (Thomas) Blair, December 2, 1757.

Chaplain, Charles Beatty, June 9, 1758.

Adjutant, John Philip de Haas, April 30, 1758.

Robert Anderson, December 5, 1757; to First

Lieutenant April 30, 1758.

Quarter Master, Thomas Smallman, May 5, 1758.

Captain, The Hon'ble William Denny, Esquire.

Captain Lieutenant, Samuel Allen, January 9, 1758.

Ensign, James Hughes, December 4, 1757; promoted to Lieutenant March 17, 1759.

Ensign, James Piper, from Captain Byers' Company, March 18, 1759 (late Smith's Company east of Susquehanna).

Captain, John Armstrong, December 2, 1757.

Lieutenant, James Potter, December 4, 1757; promoted to Captain February 17, 1759.

Ensign, Fred'k Van Hombach, April 2, 1758.

(West of Susquehanna.)

Captain, Hugh Mercer, December 4, 1757.

Lieutenant, Thomas Smallman, December 5, 1757; to Captain, vice Work, March, 1759

Ensign, Robert Anderson, December 5, 1757; promoted to Lieutenant, March 17, 1759.

Ensign, Andrew Wackerberg, March 19, 1757.

Captain, Hance Hamilton, December 6, 1757.

Lieutenant, Jacob Snaidor (Sneider), December 13, 1757; resigned April 12, 1759.

Ensign, Hugh Crawford, March 11, 1758.

(At Fort Bedford, April 12, 1759.)

Captain, George Armstrong, December 12, 1757.

Lieutenant, John Prentice, December 6, 1757; to Captain, vice Garraway, March, 1759.

Ensign, John Lyttle, December 11, 1757.

Captain, Edward Ward, December 13, 1757.

Lieutenant, Henry Geiger, December 21, 1757.

Ensign, James Pollock, January 4, 1758.

Casper Stadtler, March 20, 1759.

Captain, Robert Callender, December 15, 1757.

Lieutenant, Thomas Hutchins, December 18, 1757.

Ensign, John Philip de Haas, January 3, 1758.

Captain, James Patterson, December 16, 1757.

Lieutenant, Nicholas Conrad, December 22, 1757.

Ensign, Edmund Mathews, March 14, 1757.

Captain, John Nicholas Wetterholt, December 19, 1757.

Lieutenant, James Laughrey, December 20, 1757; resigned March 17, 1759.

Lieutenant, Robert Anderson, from *Ensign*, March 18, 1759.

Ensign, Joseph Armstrong, February 22, 1758.

Jacob Orndt, March 21, 1759.

Captain, William Thompson, December 21, 1757; resigned February 17, 1759.

Captain, James Potter, from *Lieutenant*, February 17, 1759.

Lieutenant, William Lyon, December 6, 1757; resigned March 17, 1759.

Lieutenant, Edward Biddle, from *Ensign*, February 1, 1759.

Ensign, Thomas Hayes, December 2, 1757.

Captain, Patrick Davis, December 22, 1757.

Lieutenant, Charles Brodhead, December 8, 1757; to *Captain*, vice Bussé, March, 1759.

Ensign, William Work, March 15, 1758.

Captain, Charles Garraway, December 23, 1757.

John Prentice, from *Lieutenant*, March, 1759.

Lieutenant, James Hyndshaw, December 10, 1757.

Ensign, John Kennedy, December 13, 1757.

Captain, William Armstrong, December 24, 1757.

Lieutenant, William Blyth, December 24, 1757.

Ensign, Conrad Bucher, April 1, 1758.

Captain, Richard Walker, April 24, 1758.

Lieutenant, John Craig, April 24, 1758.

Ensign, Robert Crawford, April 24, 1758.

Captain, David Hunter, April 25, 1758.

Lieutenant, Andrew Finley, April 25, 1758.

Ensign, William Hadden, April 25, 1758.

Captain, John McKnight, April 26, 1758.

Lieutenant, Davis McAllister, April 26, 1758.

Ensign, Archibald Lochry, April 26, 1758.

Troop of Light Horse.

Captain, William Thompson, May 1, 1758.

First Lieutenant, Robert Anderson, April 30, 1758.

Second Lieutenant, John Lyttle, May 1, 1758.

Second Battalion.

("In the year 1758, the expedition against Fort Du Quesne, now Pittsburg, was undertaken, and our Battalion

joined the British Army at Carlisle. At this time Capt. Lloyd had been promoted to the rank of Lt. Col., but retained his company of which I had the command as Capt. Lieutenant, and was left some time in command of the garrison at Shippensburg. On my marching from thence with a brigade of wagons under my charge, at Chambers' about eleven miles from Shippensburg, the men mutinied, and were preparing to march, but by my reasoning with them and at the same time threatening them, the most of them consented to resume their march to Fort Loudon, where Lieut. Scott was with eight or ten months' pay. While the army lay at Ligonier, we were attacked by a body of French and Indians, and I was wounded in the foot by a spent ball. In November of this year (Nov. 25), the Army took possession of Fort Duquesne, under the command of Gen. Forbes, a poor emaciated old man who, for the most part of our march was obliged to be carried in a horse litter. In the year 1759, I was stationed at Ligonier, and had 25 men picked out of the two battalions under my command, &c."—Miles' manuscript.)

Colonel Commandant, James Burd, May 28, 1758.

Lieutenant Colonel, Thomas Lloyd, May 30, 1758.

Major, David Jamison, June 3, 1758.

Joseph Shippen, December, 1758.

Surgeon, John Morgan, December 1, 1757.

Chaplain, John Steel, December 1, 1757.

Hector Allison, March, 1759.

Adjutant, Jacob Kern, December 23, 1757.

Quarter-Master, Asher Clayton, June 8, 1758.

Commissary, Peter Bard.

Cadet, Joseph Hassey.

Captain, James Burd, December 3, 1757; to Colonel.

Lieutenant, James Hayes, December 3, 1757; wounded at Grant's defeat near Fort Duquesne, September 14, 1758; resigned November 13, 1758.

Lieutenant, Caleb Graydon, from *Ensign*, November 13, 1758.

Ensign, Caleb Graydon, December 2, 1757; to *Lieutenant*, November 13, 1758.

Ensign, George Price, March 17, 1759.

Captain, Thomas Lloyd, December 7, 1757; to *Lieutenant Colonel*.

Lieutenant, Samuel Miles, December 14, 1757.

Ensign, Adam Henry, December 6, 1757.

Captain, Christian Bussé, December 5, 1757.

Charles Brodhead, from *Lieutenant*, March, 1759 (?).

Lieutenant, Jacob Kerns, December 23, 1757; *Adjutant*.

Ensign, George Craighead, December 8, 1757.

Captain, Joseph Shippen, December 8, 1757.

Lieutenant, Joseph Scott, December 15, 1757.

Ensign, Henry Haller, December 12, 1757; reported "missing" at Grant's defeat near Fort Duquesne, September 14, 1758.

Captain, Patrick Work, December 11, 1757.

Thomas Smallman, from *Lieutenant*, First Battalion, March, 1759.

Lieutenant, Samuel J. Atlee, December 7, 1757; to *Captain*, vice Weiser, March, 1759.

Ensign, John Baird, March 13, 1758.

Captain, Jacob Orndt, December 10, 1757.

Lieutenant, William Patterson, December 3, 1757.

Ensign, Joseph Quicksell, December 9, 1757.

Captain, David Jamison, December 9, 1757.

Lieutenant, William Reynolds, December 19, 1757; wounded at Grant's defeat near Fort Duquesne, September 14, 1758; resigned March 17, 1759.

Lieutenant, James Hughes, from Ensign, March 17, 1759.

Ensign, Francis Johnston, December 10, 1757.

Captain, John Hambright, December 14, 1757.

Lieutenant, Patrick Allison, December 16, 1757.

Ensign, Martin Heidler, March 16, 1758.

Captain, Levi Trump, December 17, 1757.

Lieutenant, John Morgan, April 1, 1758.

Ensign, Jacob Morgan, Jun., March 12, 1758.

Captain, Jacob Morgan, December 18, 1757.

Lieutenant, Samuel Humphreys, December 11, 1757.

Ensign, Daniel Harry, December 6, 1757; resigned March 17, 1759.

Ensign, Samuel Montgomery, March 17, 1759.

Captain, Samuel Weiser, December 20, 1757.

Samuel J. Atlee, from Lieutenant, March, 1759.

Lieutenant, William Clapham, January 9, 1758.

Ensign, Edward Biddle, December 3, 1757; to Lieutenant, February 1, 1759.

Ensign, ——— Clayton, March 17, 1759.

Captain, Asher Clayton, January 9, 1758; wounded at Grant's defeat near Fort Duquesne, September 14, 1758.

Lieutenant, Alexander McKee, December 17, 1757.

Ensign, Joseph Falconer, December, 1757.

Captain, John Byers, April 27, 1758.

Lieutenant, Ezekiel Dunning, April 27, 1758.

Ensign, James Piper, April 27, 1758; to Ensign of Captain Denny's Company, March 18, 1759.

Captain, John Haslett, April 28, 1758.

Lieutenant, William Clinton, April 28, 1758.

Ensign, Robert Bines, April 28, 1758.

Captain, John Singleton, April 29, 1758.

Lieutenant, John Emmitt, April 29, 1758, Chester County.

Ensign, John Jones, April 29, 1758.

Captain, Robert Eastburn, April 30, 1758; "Prisoner at Canada."

Lieutenant, Josiah Davenport, April 30, 1758.

Ensign, George Price, April 30, 1758; to Captain Burd's Company, March 17, 1759.

Troop of Light Horse.

Captain, John Hambright, May 2, 1758.

First Lieutenant, Patrick Allison, May 2, 1758.

Second Lieutenant, William Clapham, May 2, 1758.

Third Battalion.

Colonel Commandant, Hugh Mercer, May 29, 1758.

Lieutenant Colonel, Patrick Work, June 1, 1758.

Major, George Armstrong, June 4, 1758.

Surgeon, Robert Bines, May 9, 1758.

Chaplain, Andrew Bay, July, 1758.

Adjutant, James Ewing, June 7, 1758.

Quarter-Master, Thomas Hutchins, June 7, 1758.

Sergeant-Major, Samuel Culbertson.

Captain, Robert Boyd, May 1, 1758.

Lieutenant, Daniel Boyd, May 1, 1758.

Ensign, James Culbertson, May 1, 1758.

Captain, John Blackwood, May 2, 1758.

Lieutenant, William Johnson, May 2, 1758.

Ensign, Thomas Godfrey, May 2, 1758.

Captain, James Sharp, May 3, 1758.

Lieutenant, Sir Collingwood Flemming, B't., May 3, 1758.

Ensign, Samuel Lindsey, May 3, 1758.

Captain, Adam Read, May 4, 1758.

Lieutenant, John Simpson, May 4, 1758.

Ensign, Hugh Hall, May 4, 1758, "of a reputable and good Family in Lancaster County."

Captain, Samuel Nelson, May 5, 1758.

Lieutenant, Nathaniel Patterson, May 5, 1758.

Ensign, John Nelson, May 5, 1758.

Captain, John Montgomery, May 7, 1758.

Lieutenant, William Maclay, May 7, 1758.

Ensign, John Haddon, June 6, 1758.

Captain, George Ashton, May 8, 1758.

Lieutenant, Cromwell Pierce, May 8, 1758.

Ensign, Andrew Wilkey, to Captain Ward's Company, March 17, 1759.

Captain, Charles McClung, May 9, 1758.

Lieutenant, Patrick Craighead, May 9, 1758.

Ensign, Matthew Patten, May 9, 1758.

Captain, Robert McPherson, May 10, 1758.

Lieutenant, James Ewing, May 10, 1758; to Adjutant, June 7, 1758.

Ensign, Peter Meem, May 10, 1758.

Captain, Paul Jackson, May 11, 1758; "Professor of the Latin tongue in the Academy."

Lieutenant, John White, May 11, 1758.

Ensign, Eleazer Davenport, May 11, 1758.

Captain, John Bull, May 12, 1758.

Lieutenant, Samuel Price, May 12, 1758.

Ensign, Charles Van Warnsdorff, May 12, 1758 (stationed at Fort Allen, June, 1758).

Captain, William Biles, May 14, 1758.

Lieutenant, Abraham Williamson, May 14, 1785.

Ensign, Samuel Jones, May 14, 1758.

Captain, Archibald McGrew, May 15, 1758.

Lieutenant, Alexander McKean, May 15, 1758.

Ensign, James Armstrong, May 15, 1758.

Captain, Thomas Hamilton, May 16, 1758.

Lieutenant, Victor King, May 16, 1758.

Ensign, William McDowell, May 16, 1758; "Was a Sergeant in Capt. Hance Hamilton's Company, at the capture of Kittanning."

Captain, Ludowick Stone, May 17, 1758.

Lieutenant, Hugh Conyngham, May 25, 1758.

Ensign, Samuel Montgomery, May 17, 1758.

Charles Van Warnsdorff.

Captain, John Clark, May 18, 1758.

Lieutenant, Samuel Postlewaite, May 18, 1758.

Ensign, George Ashton, Jun., May 18, 1758.

New Levies—May, 1758.

Captains:

John Allison,

Job Rushton,

Thomas Smith,

Alexander Graydon,

James Hyndshaw,

William Biles (Bucks County),

Thomas Armour (York County).

Lieutenants:

Moses Irwin,

George McCulloch,

James Leeper,

Benjamin Smith,

Stephen Cochran,

James Lewis.

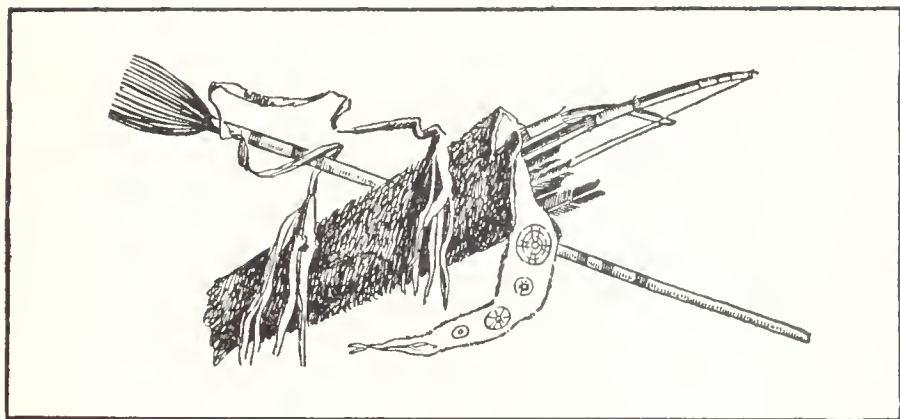
Ensigns:

James Maxwell,

John Kirkpatrick.

The writer has felt that the number of these lists should not be unduly extended, and has, therefore, inserted those which, more especially, may aid the student of the French and Indian War in following the course of events. He has not attempted to make an exhibit of the names of those of German blood who were armed participants in the war, as that, in itself, would be quite an undertaking, and would extend far beyond the space allotted him. He merely wishes to add, in concluding this chapter, that many German names are to be found in nearly every company of the provincial service, whose rolls are given, showing that, even in the Pennsylvania Regiment, the Pennsylvania-German was an actor in all the scenes of the war, and that, outside of the mere occurrences in the eastern portion of the Province, he did his full duty in every other part of it.





CHAPTER XIX.

FORT AUGUSTA.



THE most extensive defense erected by the Provincial Government during the French and Indian War, was that at Shamokin, the site of the present city of Sunbury, and called "Fort Augusta." Located at the "Forks of the Susquehanna," one of

whose branches rises in one of the lesser lakes of the State of New York, the other overlapping some of the branches of the Allegheny River, with both joining each other at a point which was then adjacent to the headquarters of the hostile Delaware Indians, it became a most commanding position to occupy. The French were quick to appreciate its strategic importance, and early organized an expedition to occupy the location.

Warned of this fact, and urged by those Indians at Shamokin, who were still under the influence of the Six Nations, and, therefore, friendly to the English, to erect "a strong house" for their defense, as well as for the safety of the Province, Governor Morris, somewhat tardily took steps necessary for the purpose. After considerable delay in securing the consent of the Royal Commissioners, and in obtaining the needed funds from the Assembly, Colonel William Clapham was directed to recruit a regiment of four hundred men, proceed to Shamokin and there build a fort in accordance with plans furnished him.

To anticipate somewhat it may be here said that, at the close of the war, the Indians stated to the English that a party of French and Indians left the lake country, in the fall of 1756, to establish themselves at Shamokin, bringing along three small brass cannon. Striking the head waters of the Susquehanna (West Branch), they descended by water to about the mouth of Loyal Sock Creek, where, landing, they sent a reconnoitering party to the top of the Blue Hill overlooking the forks and Fort Augusta, then partially built. Seeing the advancement of the fort, and the number of men guarding it, they considered it imprudent to attack and so reported to the main body, who, after consultation, decided to return; as the water was falling, finding themselves encumbered with their cannon, they threw them in the deep pot hole, or eddy, at the upper end of the old time race ground island, which has been known as the "Cannon Hole" ever since.

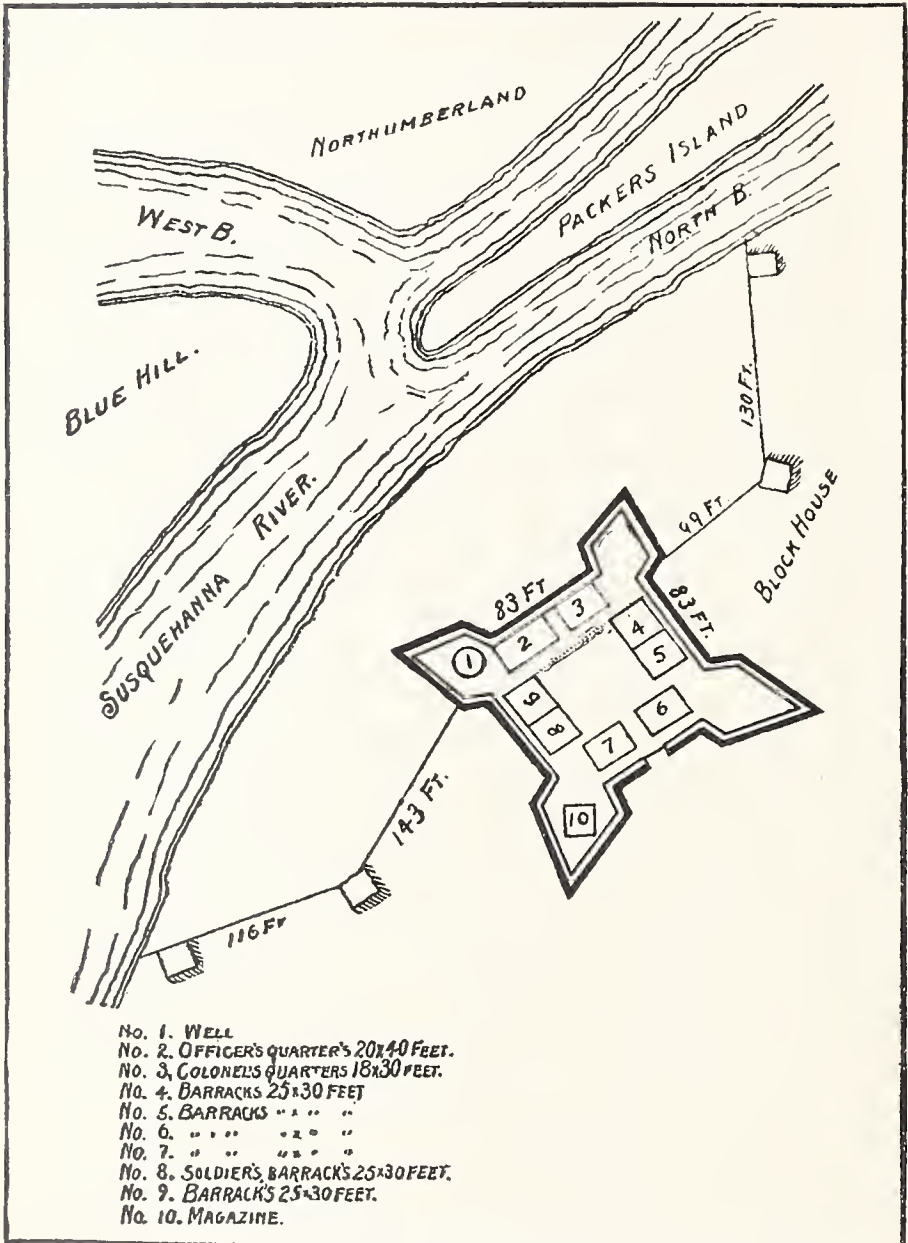
On April 7, 1756, Colonel Clapham was directed to make Hunter's Mill, six miles above Harrisburg, as the place of rendezvous for his regiment then forming. By June he had reached McKee's house up the Susquehanna, from whence he marched to Armstrong's, later the site of Fort Halifax.

The following letter to Governor Morris will report more fully his progress:

CAMP AT ARMSTRONG'S, June 11th, 1756.

Sir: I do myself the Pleasure to inform your Honor, that on Saturday last, I march'd from McKee's Store with Five Companys and Eighteen Battoes & Canoes loaded, and arrived here the next afternoon; at which Time, I receivd the Favor of your Honors Kind Letter. Before I left that Place, I detached Serjeant McCurdy wth Twelve men, to remain in garrison at Harris's, and receive and stow carefully whatever Provisions, Stores, &c., arrivd. I have also station'd a Party of Twenty Four Men, under the command of Mr. Johnson, at Hunters Fort, with orders to defend that Post and the Neighborhood, and to escort any Provisions that should come to him up to McKees Store. As we could not move with the whole Body, for want of a sufficient number of Battoes to transport the Provisions, Stores, and Tools, I have directed Major Burd to erect Bastions at opposite Corners, and to remain in camp at McKees Store, till we can remove all the Provisions and Stores up to this Place, and when he decamps to leave Mr. Attlee to defend the Post, and convey any Battoes that may afterwards be destined for this Place.

The River is now very low, and daily falling insomuch that it was with great Difficulty we got the Battoes through the Shoals and Falls at Juniata Hill, most of them having grounded, tho' laden with no more than Four Barrels of Pork, and a few light Things; there I was convinced from Experience, that the Battoe Service is what the Soldiers in general are utterly incapable of, and what very few of them have been accustomed to, I shall for this Reason, be obliged to hire a number of men better acquainted with



PLAN OF FORT AUGUSTA.

that Branch of Business, and shall want money and Rum for that Purpose. The money you left with me for contingent Charges, I have already paid to these I have hired, as they have wives and children to support at Home, which, if they are not paid weekly, will oblige them to quit the Service; the Vouchers for the payment of that money, I shall send your Honor by the next opportunity, half of the sum being left with Major Burd for that use, who is not yet come up.

As I find this far the most convenient Place on the River, between Harris's and Shamokin, for a Magazine, on account of its good natural Situation, its Situation above the Juniata Falls, the vast Plenty of Pine Timber at Hand, its nearness to Shamokin, and a Saw within a Quarter of a mile, I have concluded to erect a Fort here, according to the Plan inclosed, and for that Purpose, we have already cutt and squard 200, and hawld to the Spot 80 Logs, each about 30 feet long, and make some Progress in laying them; but as our long Stay here may be attended wth many Inconveniencys, and men may be hird in the neighborhood at a reasonable Rate, sufficient, under the Guard of an officer and Thirty Men, to finish the Fort in a Fortnight after the Logs are all hawld, it appears more prudent to do so, than to retard the march of the Troops at this Season; on that account, I perceive we shall be obliged to cross the River about a mile and a half above this, so that any Place higher up on this side the River would be improper for a magazine. I have directed Henry to do everything with regard to the Pennsylvania arms, agreeable to your Instructions, and am well pleas'd to hear of the Arrival of the 200 English arms and Blankets at McKees Store, but I observe your Honor has barely calculated the arms for 400 men, whereas, exclusive of that number in the Reg-

iment there are the Garrisons at Harris's, Hunters, and McKees, besides the officers and Volunteers who are without arms.

We have now twenty Battoes finished, and two Canoes, which are all busily employ'd in bringing up the Provisions, &c., they have made Five Trips already up to McKees Store, and two to this Place, and are now absent on a third.

Ten of the Ship Carpenters arrivd here yesterday from Harris's by my order, to which I was induced, by the following Reasons, the want of a proper officer at Harris's to superintend them, and the necessity of Mr. Erwins Horses, which may supply Logs for the Fort and Timber for them at the same Time. I find Rum to be an article extremely necessary in this Service, have but a small Quantity of it in Store, and am in daily Expectation of a further Supply.

On the 3d and 5th instant, I detached two different partys of Scouts to reconnoitre Shamokin and the Route thither, and on the Eighth, in the morning, was agreeably surprized to see a Canoe coming down the River with a red Flag, on board of which was an Indian chief of the Iroquois Nation, and his Son, charg'd with a message and Belt of Wampum from the Six Nations, for the Particulars of whose Intelligence, I refer your Honor to the Papers particularly relative to that Subject, and shall only add, that a Cayauga Indian was dispatch'd at the Time, with this Man, butt being deterr'd by the Reports of John Shikalamy and the Fellow who escap'd afterwards from McKees Son, remain'd at Choconatte above Wioming, and left his companions to prosecute the Journey without him.

The courier who brings this was hir'd on Purpose, and detain'd by me till the Conference with the Indian was concluded.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



FORT AUGUSTA.

REMAINS OF OLD MAGAZINE AND HEADQUARTERS OF COMMANDANT.

Since our coming here, we have daily the Satisfaction of seeing the People return to their deserted Habitations on the River, and have offered them all the Encouragement and assistance which Humanity and our Duty to the Service requires.

I must beg leave to assure your Honor, that no motives shall influence me to deviate from that Regard which I owe to the good of the Service and your Honors Instructions, and that I am very respectfully,

Your Honors most obedient humble Svt.

By the Colonels Command, WILLM CLAPHAM.

T. LLOYD, aid de Camp.

Progress on the new fort went along but slowly. On December 8 Colonel James Burd arrived and took charge of the work, at which time he found that nothing had been done for some while, and much was in an unfinished condition. So far as the weather permitted the work was pushed along constantly, but it was not until towards the close of the following year that all was accomplished.

The defense speedily became too strong to be in danger of attack and capture. Its history, therefore, is more or less uneventful. On February 26, 1757, a party, sent to bring in stores, was surprised and two of their number killed; at various times scouting parties scoured the whole neighborhood, and even extended their investigations to a considerable distance, and, all the while, the usual routine of work and duty was actively carried on. During the Revolutionary War Fort Augusta again became the center of great activity, but its interesting history of that period does not belong to this subject. It stood at the upper end of the now enterprising town of Sunbury, and, when completed, mounted at least twelve cannon and two

swivels, quite a formidable armament for the time and place, together with seven blunderbusses.

FORT HALIFAX.

Fort Halifax was located at the mouth of Armstrong Creek about half a mile above the present town of Halifax, in Dauphin County.

Of its shape and construction we have already had an account, in the letter just given from Colonel Clapham to the Governor. In his advance up the Susquehanna towards Shamokin he found it difficult and slow work to transport, in batteaux, his supplies of all descriptions. In addition, his march into a hostile country demanded a base of supply for the comparatively large number of men who accompanied him. For that purpose McKees Store was first occupied and stockaded and, further up, Fort Halifax was erected near the home of Robert Armstrong, one of the first settlers of the locality, who was found there by the Moravian missionaries when passing by in 1746. To the north of the creek lived, later, Simon Girty, the outlaw's father, who removed thence, with his family, after having been driven out of the Shearman's Creek settlement.

At various times it was decided to abandon the use of Fort Halifax, not being needed as a place of defense and being of constantly less value as a magazine of supplies, which latter were taken direct to Fort Augusta from Fort Hunter, but it was kept up, in a desultory manner, until 1763 when it was finally dismantled.

FORT HUNTER.

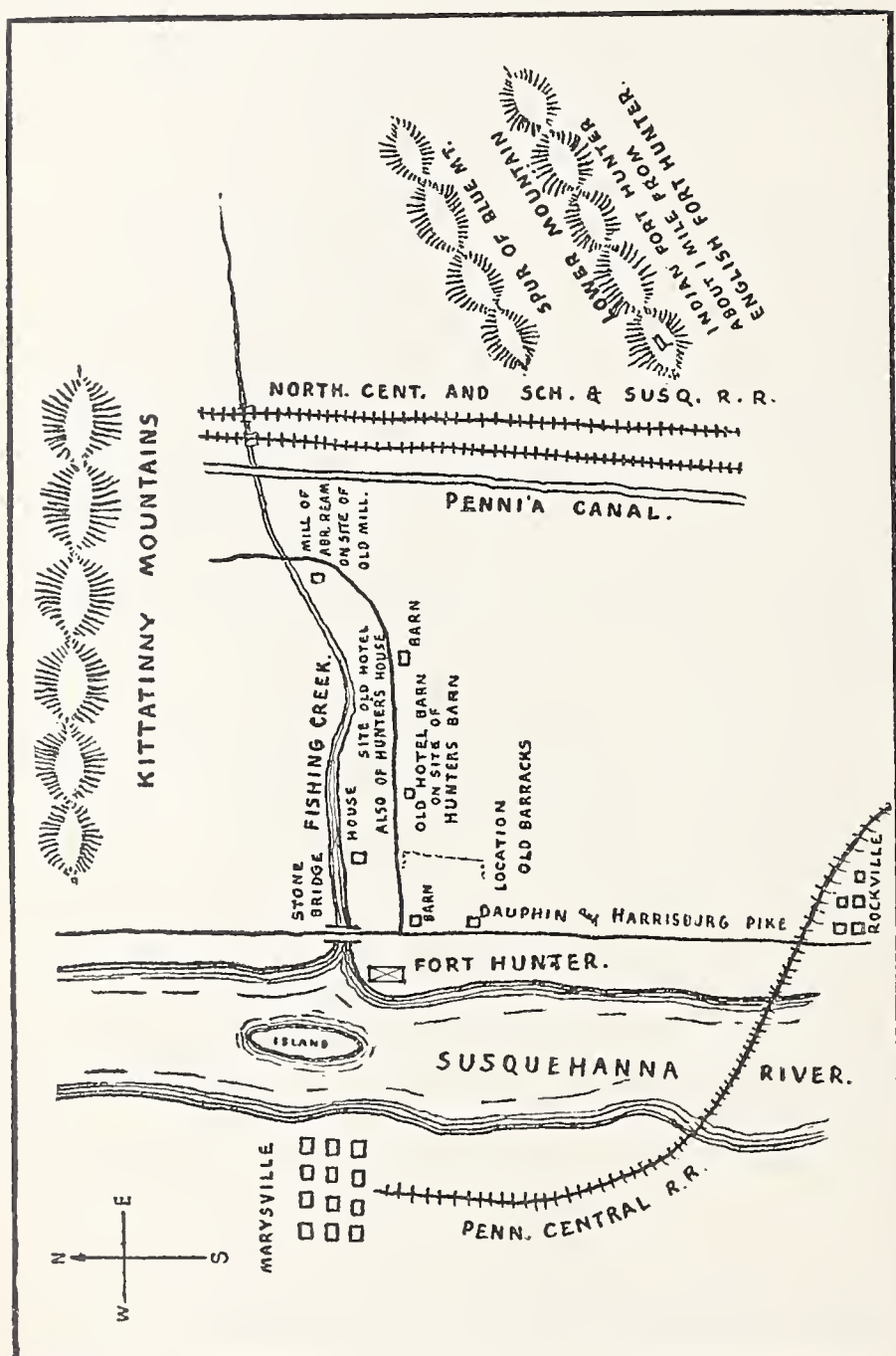
Six miles north of Harrisburg, at the junction of Fishing Creek and the Susquehanna River, surrounded by beau-

tiful scenery, stood Fort Hunter, some two and one-half miles below the present romantic village of Dauphin, and about one-half mile above that of Rockville.

Its situation "where the Blue Hills cross the Susquehanna" gave it command of the passage around the same into the settled districts. When, therefore, the first raid of the savages was made, and the murders at Penn's Creek committed on October 16, 1755, the settlers of the vicinity at once made preparations to defend themselves and to stay the advance of the Indians. A stockade was erected, but its exact locality is unknown; it may have been at Hunter's Mill itself, about five hundred yards up the creek from its mouth, where now stands the mill owned by Abr. Ream, or it may have been where stood the fort. The latter is more probable, and it is likely that the soldiers, who came to garrison the place, merely completed what had been already begun.

The subject of our sketch was a blockhouse, surrounded by a stockade, standing on a narrow elevation of gravel and boulders about forty feet high, distant some one hundred and fifty feet from the Susquehanna River, which is here nearly seven-eighths of a mile wide. Its site is now occupied by a substantial stone house. In the rear of the barn, now standing, on the opposite side of the pike from the fort, were formerly erected barracks for the better accommodation of the soldiers forming the garrison, and recruits gathered from other points. A house and barn occupy the site of Hunter's house and barn.

Its history begins with the order sent Adam Read, on January 10, 1756, to detach twenty-five men from his company, then guarding the frontier along the mountains, and send them, under command of a suitable officer, to Hunter's mill, which detachment, however, was relieved,



towards the end of the month, by Captain Thomas McKee and thirty men, who was directed to either complete the fort then in existence or erect one at a more suitable place. The result was the defense which we are describing. With the organization and advance of Colonel Clapham's "Augusta Regiment," Fort Hunter became, at once, an important station. Here was the rendezvous of the troops; here the batteaux were congregated; here all supplies were collected; and, so long as the operations at Shamokin continued, so long was it a scene of great activity.

On March 14, 1757, Lord Loudoun arrived at Philadelphia, where he remained two weeks, in consultation with Governor Denny. As a result of the conference on the defense of the Province, at which were present Colonel Clapham, with Lieutenant Colonels Weiser and Armstrong, amongst other things it was decided that four hundred men should be kept at Fort Augusta, and the works there completed; that one hundred men should constitute the garrison of Fort Halifax, and that Fort Hunter should be demolished, only fifty men being retained there temporarily until the removal of the magazine of supplies, which was to take place as soon as possible. The long frontier of the Blue Range, between the Susquehanna and the Delaware, was to be defended by Colonel Weiser's Battalion and the forts reduced to three in number.

This at once caused great consternation among the settlers, and brought from them an earnest appeal for its continuance, which was strongly endorsed by Commissary Young, who personally explained to the Governor and Council the excellent situation of Fort Hunter as compared with that of Fort Halifax, of which he said: "That it is a very bad Situation, being built beyond Two Ranges of Hills, and nobody living near it, none could be pro-

tected by it; that it is no Station for Battoe parties, having no Command of the Channel, which runs close on the Western Shore, and is besides covered with a large Island between the Channel and Fort, so that numbers of the Enemy may, even in the day time, run down the River without being seen by that Garrison."

The result was not only the continuance but the strengthening of Fort Hunter. In July, 1758, Captain G. Price was left in it by General Forbes, during his advance, with orders to make still further repairs, and to place it in proper shape for use once more as a base of supplies.

The record of this fort is not only that of a supply magazine and rendezvous, but it was, besides, a true place of defense whose garrison was constantly occupied in watching their savage foe. In the beginning of October, 1757, a man was killed and scalped within twenty rods of Hunter's barn, of which incident Captain Bussé, then in command, makes the following report:

HUNTER'S FORT, the 3d October, 1757.

May it Please Your Honour:

In my Coming Back from Rainging allong the Fruntears on Saturday the first Instant, I Heard that the Day Before, Twelve Indians wore seen not fare off from hear, as it was Leat, and not Knowing their Further Strength, I thought To Go at Day Braek nixt morning with as many Soldiers and Battowe-men as I could get. But In a short Time we Heard a Gun fire off, and Running Deirectly To the Spot, found the Dead Boddey of one William Martin, who went into the woods to Pick up Chestnuts where the Indians was lying in ambush. I ordered all the men to Run into the woods, and we Rainged till it Grew Quite Dark; the Continual Rain that Has Been Sins, Has Hin-

dered my following them; there was a number of the inhabitants Came Here to assist in following them, but the wether prevented. There ware onley 3 Indians onley Seen By Some people, who ware Siting Before the Dore of Mister Hunter, and they say, that all was Don In Less than four minutes; that same night, I warned the Inhabitants to Be upon their Guards, and in the morning, I Rainged on this side the mounton the nixt Day. But my men Being few in Number, By Rason of their Being fourteen of them sick, I could Not be Long from the Garrison; and it seems yet probable To me, that there is Great Numbers of the Enimy Indians on this River. The Townships of Paxton and Derry Have agreed to keep a Guard for Some Time in the frunteer Houses, from Monaday to Susquehannah, and Expects that your Honour will be pleased to Reinforce this Detachment. If thease Townships should Break up, the Communication Between Fort Augusta and the Inhabitants would Be Greatley Endangered.

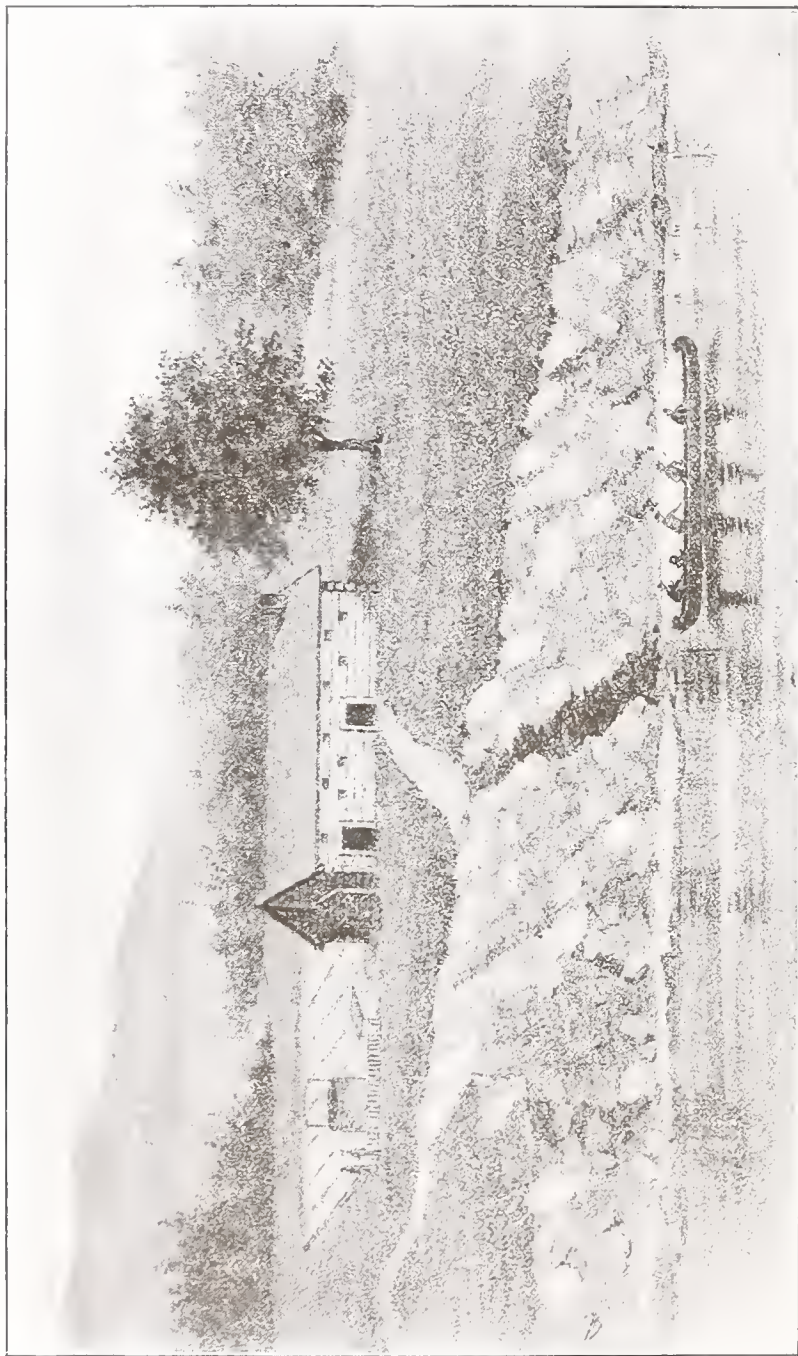
I am, with Greatest Respect,
Your Honours,
most obedient Humble Servant,
CHRISTIAN BUSSÉ.

Captain James Patterson, who was later in command at Fort Hunter, sent, on January 10, 1758, to Governor Denny, the following interesting extracts from his Journal of duties, performed at that place from December 5, 1757, to date:

FORT HUNTER, Janry ye 10th, 1758.

I took with 19 men & ranged from this Fort as far as Robinson's Fort (at Manada Gap), where I lodged, Keeping a guard of six men & one Corporal on centry that

night. The sixth day I marched towards Hunter's Fort, ranging along the mountain foot very diligently till I came to the Fort that evening, my men being so afflicted with sickness I could not send out till the eighth day, Lieu't Allen, with 14 men, went to Range for three days. On the 12th day Lieu't Allen, with Eighteen men & one Serjeant ranged along the mountain about 14 miles from this Fort, where he met Cap't Lieu't Weiser and his party & returned back towards this Fort the next day & came to it that night. The fifteenth, Lieu't Allen, with 18 men, Kept along the Frontier till the 25th & came to this Fort that night. Hearing of Indians harbouring about Juniatta, on the 28th of December, I took 15 men with me up the Creek, and about 14 miles from the mouth of it I found fresh tracks of Indians on both sides of the creek & followed the tracks about four miles up the said Creek, where I lost the tracks, But I still Kept up the creek 'till I gott up about twenty-five miles from the mouth of said Creek, where I encamped that night. The Indians I found were round me all the night, for my Dogg made several attacks towards the Woods as if he saw the Enemy and still run Back to the Centry. On the 3rd of January I returned down the Creek in some canoes that I found on said Creek, and when I came about nine miles down I espied about 20 Indians on the opposite side of the Creek to where I was. They seemed to gett themselves in order to fire upon the men that were in Canoes. I immediately ordered them all out but two men that let the Canoes float close under the shore, and kept the Land in readiness to fire upon the Enemy, as soon as they moved out of the place where they lay in Ambush, but I could see no more of them. On the 5th day of January I came to this Fort. On the sixth day I sent a Serjeant & Corporal with 15 men along the Fron-



FORT HARRIS.

tiers of Paxton and Maunadys, about fourteen miles from this Fort, and on the seventh day they returned back to said Fort. On their march one of the Soldiers espied two Indians Just by one of the Frontier plantations; the Soldiers gave the Serjeant notice and the Serjeant Kept on his course, as if he had not Known anything of the Indians, till he gott some Bushes between the party & the Indians and then gott round the place where the Indians were seen, but they happening to see the party run off, when our party came to the place they saw the Tracks of the Indians plain where they run off. As I am recruiting to fill up my Comp'y again, and my recruits are not all qualified as yet, it is not in my power to send y'r Hon'r a Roll of my Comp'y, but expect in a few days to be in Capacity of doing it. As I am insensible there are Enemy Indians upon the Coast, I thought it fitting to send y'r Hon'r this Journal, & remain,

Y'r Honour's Most obedient
humble Servant

JAMES PATTERSON.

THE HARRIS STOCKADE.

The nucleus, or central point, of all the defenses was the old log house which formed the home and trading post of John Harris, Sr., at the present city of Harrisburg.

While more especially a trader he was also engaged extensively in agriculture. It is said of him that "he was the first person who introduced the plough on the Susquehanna," and, moreover, that "he was as honest a man as ever broke bread." In 1705 he built his log house on the lower bank of the river, about one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet below the spot where now repose his remains. A well, dug by him, still exists about one hun-

dred feet east of his grave. It was covered over about 1850, but its site was distinguished by a small circular mound of earth. It was the typical log cabin of the early settler, with its huge chimneys, though somewhat more pretentious in size, with which was connected a long range of sheds, which were sometimes literally filled with skins and furs, either obtained by himself in traffic with the Indians or stored there by Indian traders who brought them from the western country.

Near this house stood a large mulberry tree to which he was bound by a party of drunken Indians, to whom he had refused more rum, and who were only prevented from burning him to death by a number of more friendly Indians who had crossed the river, and, after a struggle, succeeded in accomplishing a timely rescue. When he died in 1748, his remains were interred, at his own request, beneath the shadow of this memorable tree. The stump of this tree has been preserved, to the present time, in an inclosure near the bridge of the Cumberland Valley Railroad opposite Mulberry Street.

He was succeeded by his son, bearing the same name, John Harris, who was born in the old house in 1726, and was a most energetic and influential man. It was he who founded the city of Harrisburg, upon the site of what, for three-quarters of a century, was known as Harris' Ferry. About 1766-69 he built a large stone house on Front Street below Mulberry which supplanted the log structure.

It was the old home, however, which occupied the scene during the occurrences of the war. When the massacre at Penn's Creek took place on October 16, 1755, Harris was prominently identified with the relief party which went to the front. We have already seen under what discour-

aging conditions this party returned. Without any prospects of help from the government, and in daily expectation of the appearance of the enemy, he promptly cut loop-holes in the building, threw a substantial stockade around it, and otherwise placed it in condition for defense.

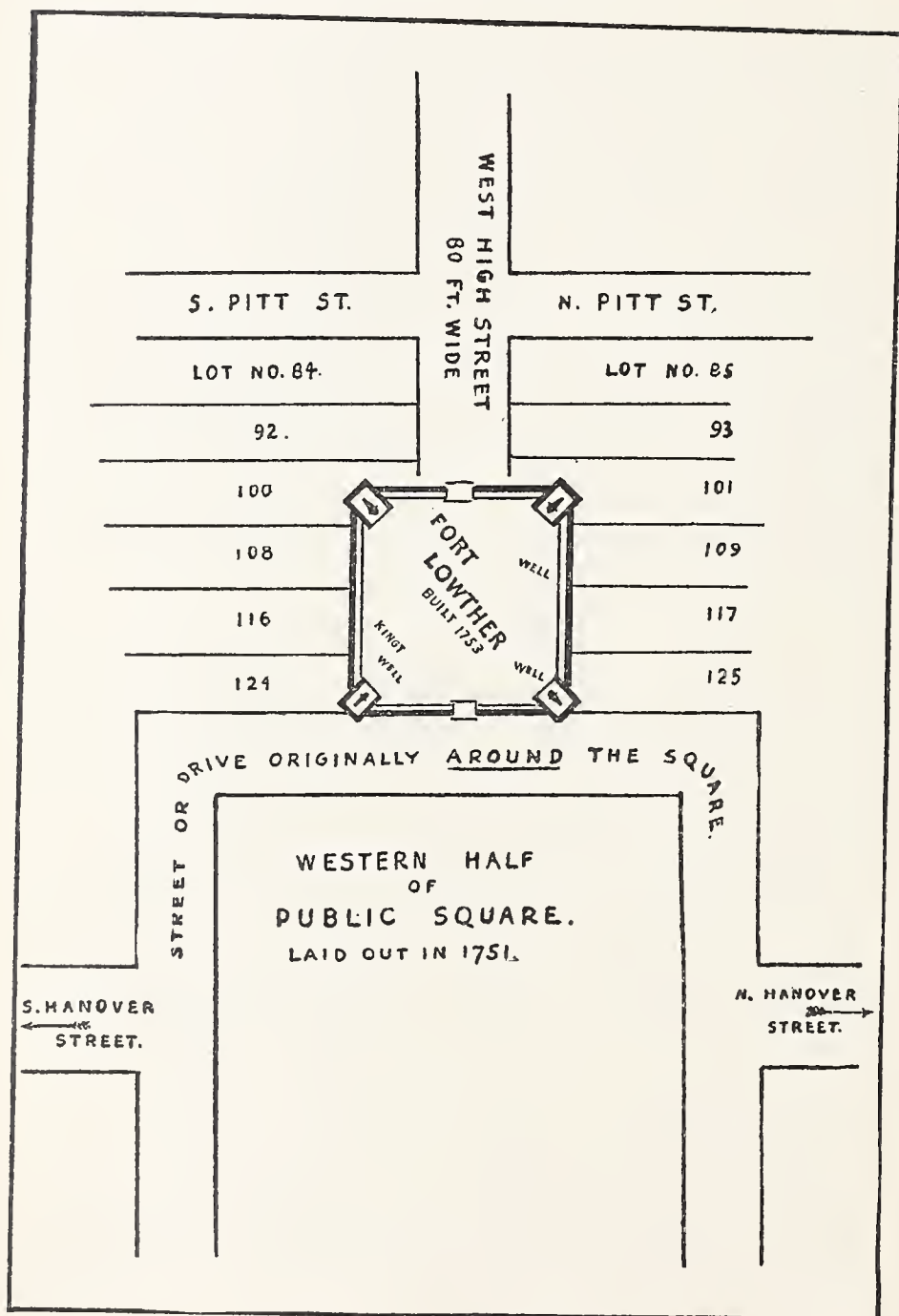
During the entire war the Harris' Stockade was a place of continued activity. Its central position made it a convenient rendezvous for governmental authorities, regimental officers and troops in general; it sheltered many sick who were sent to the rear; at times it held securely prisoners taken at the front; its capacious cellars and out-houses became storage rooms for the supplies of the battalions beyond, and there were but few, of any description, who, in their going and coming, did not have occasion to seek the shelter of its hospitable roof.

FORT LOWTHER.

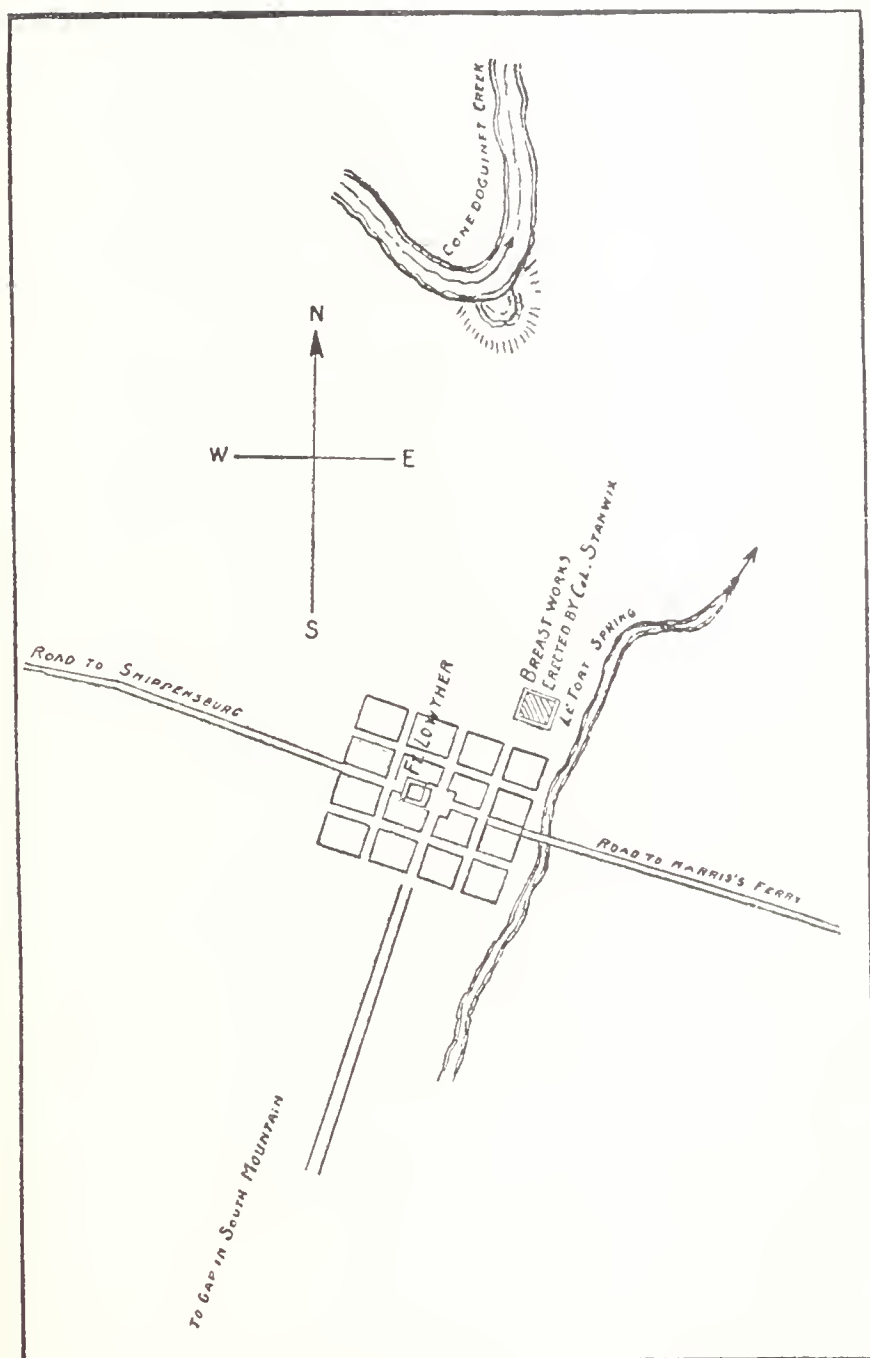
This fort was located in Cumberland County. It stood "On High Street between Hanover and Pitt Streets, opposite Lot No. one hundred, and the house of the late General Lamberton occupied a part of the ground, being in what is now the most populous part of the town."

Cumberland County was originally settled by the Scotch-Irish, but these people gradually removed further west and were supplanted by the Germans, many of whom already occupied the territory during the French and Indian War and were equal participants in its struggles and horrors.

Soon after the defeat of the Virginia troops, and the capitulation of Fort Necessity, July 4, 1754, the imminent danger of being surprised by the Indians was apparent to the settlers in the valley and Governor Hamilton was petitioned for protection. When the defeat of General Braddock followed, the next year, once more the Governor



SITE AND PLAN OF FORT LOWTHER.



SITE OF FORT LOWTHER.

(Morris) was petitioned to supply the necessary means of defense. The result was the tardy but eventual establishment of the chain of forts which included the one under consideration.

It was at Fort Lowther that Governor Morris was stationed on June 5, 1755, to be near Braddock's forces, for the rendering of such assistance as might be required, and, while here, he received the last letter ever written by that officer.

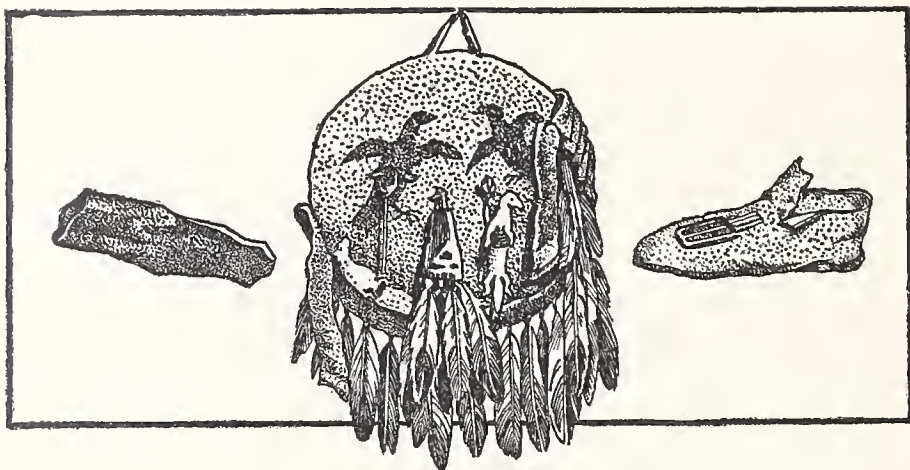
The fort was gradually completed and continually strengthened, becoming a quite important position, being occupied not only by detachments of the provincial battalions but, frequently, by troops from the royal regiments, especially when, during the later years, offensive operations were undertaken against the savages.

Its history of massacres and destruction was similar to that of all the other frontier stations. Among the sufferers was one who revenged himself terribly upon the savages. He was a white man, known as Captain Jack, the "black hunter," the "black rifle," the "wild hunter of Juniata," the "black hunter of the forest." Some years before the outbreak of the war he entered the woods with a few enterprising companions, built his cabin, cleared a little land, and supplied his needs by fishing and hunting. He was happy because he had no care. One evening, on his return home, he found his cabin burnt, his wife and children murdered. From that moment he forsook civilized man, lived in caves, protected the frontier inhabitants from the Indians, and seized every opportunity for revenge that offered. He was a terror to the red man; a protector to the white. On one occasion, near Juniata, in the middle of a dark night, a family was suddenly awakened by the report of a gun. Rushing from their

cabin, by the glimmering light of their chimney they saw an Indian fall to rise no more. The open door exposed to view "the wild hunter." "I saved your lives," he cried, then turned away and was soon buried in the gloom of night. He never shot without good cause. His look was as unerring as his aim. He formed an association to defend the settlers against savage aggressions, which, on a given signal, would unite. Their exploits were heard of in 1756, on the Conococheague and Juniata. He was sometimes called "the Half Indian," and Colonel Armstrong, in a letter to the Governor, says: "The company under the command of the Half Indian, having left the Great Cove, the Indians took advantage and murdered many." He also, through Colonel Croghan, proffered his aid to Braddock. "He will march with his hunters," says the Colonel; "they are dressed in hunting shirts, moccasins, etc., are well armed, and are equally regardless of heat or cold. They require no shelter for the night, they ask no pay." The real name of this mysterious personage has never been ascertained. It is supposed that he gave the name to "Jack's Mountain" an enduring and appropriate monument.

In 1764 more than four hundred unfortunate captives, who had been released by Colonel Bouquet, were brought to Carlisle where many of them were restored to their overjoyed relatives.





CHAPTER XX.

FORT MORRIS.



FOLLOWING the line of defenses to the south we come to the next one located at the site of the present town of Shippensburg. Some confusion has existed with regard to this fort. The records speak of Fort Morris and, at other places, of Fort Franklin. It is claimed by some that two defenses existed close to each other, each of a different name, while others state that the two names both belong to the same place, which is probably correct.

On November 2, 1755, Major James Burd writes from Shippensburg: "We have one hundred men working at Fort Morris, with heart and hand, every day. The town is full of people, five or six families in a house, in great

want of arms and ammunition; but, with what we have we are determined to give the enemy as warm a reception as we can. Some of our people have been taken prisoners, but have made their escape, and came into us this morning. . . .”

It was built on a rocky hill, at the western end of the town. The brick school-house standing there, erected about 1860, is within the boundary of the fort, the foundation of a part of which can still be traced. The walls were about two feet in thickness and were of stone taken from a quarry a few yards west of where it stood. They were very substantially built, of small stone joined together by mortar which became as hard as cement. In them were openings several feet from the ground. The roof, together with all the timber used in the construction of the building has been removed years before 1821. The portion of the wall, which remained at that time, was torn down in 1836 by a party engaged in a drunken frolic.

On July 18, 1757, six men were killed, or taken away, near Shippensburg, while reaping in John Cesney's field. The following day, not far from Shippensburg, in Joseph Stevenson's harvest field, the savages butchered inhumanly nine men, carrying off three women and one boy. July 27, Mr. McKisson was wounded, and his son taken from the South Mountain. A letter, dated Carlisle, September 5, 1757, says three persons were killed by the Indians six miles from Carlisle, and two persons about two miles from Silver's old place. A much longer list of the names of slain and captured might be added.

In the summer of 1761, and later, many fled for shelter and protection to Shippensburg, Carlisle, and the lower end of the county. In July, 1763, 1,384 of the poor, distressed, back inhabitants took refuge at Shippensburg. Of this

number there were 301 men, 345 women and 738 children, many of whom had to lie in barns, stables, cellars and under leaky roofs, the dwelling houses being all crowded. In the lower end of the county every house, every barn and every stable was crowded with miserable refugees, who, having lost their horses, their cattle, their harvest, were reduced from independence and happiness to abject beggary and despair. The streets and roads were filled with people; the men distracted with grief for their losses; and the desire for revenge more poignantly excited by the disconsolate females and bereaved children who wailed around them. In the woods, for miles on both sides of the Susquehanna, many families, with their cattle, sought shelter, being unable to find it in towns.

Between Fort Morris, at Shippensburg, and the next provincial defense, Fort Loudoun, stands the present town of Chambersburg, whose connection with the war was too prominent to be passed over entirely. It seems to be a matter of dispute as to the time when the Chambers settled on the Conococheague. It is not probable that Joseph and Benjamin Chambers located at the Falling Spring earlier than 1730. They had previously built at Fort Hunter, on the Susquehanna, but, an accidental fire consuming their mill on the Fishing Creek, they wandered westward, finally locating at the point named, erecting a log house, and eventually, a saw and grist mill.

After the defeat of Braddock, for the further security of his family and neighbors, Colonel Benjamin Chambers erected, where the town of Chambersburg now stands, a large stone dwelling-house, surrounded by the water from Falling Spring, which, for protection against fire, was roofed with lead. The dwellings and mills were surrounded by a stockade fort, which, with the aid of fire-

arms, a blunderbuss and swivel, was so formidable to the Indian parties, passing through the country, that it was but seldom assailed, and no one sheltered by it was either killed or wounded.

The savage depredations of the Indian soon became terrible. Benjamin Chambers, writing from Falling Spring, on Sunday morning, November 2, 1755, to the inhabitants of the lower part of the county of Cumberland, says: "If you intend to go to the assistance of your neighbors, you need wait no longer for the certainty of the news. The Great Cove is destroyed. James Campbell left his company last night, and went to the fort at Mr. Steel's meeting-house, and there saw some of the inhabitants of the Great Cove, who gave this account, that as they came over the hill they saw their houses in flames."

A few days after Great Cove had been laid waste, and forty-seven persons, out of ninety-three settlers, were killed or taken captive, the merciless Indians burnt the house of widow Cox, near McDowell's Mill, in Cumberland (now Franklin) County, and carried off her two sons and another man. In February, 1756, two brothers, Richard and John Craig, were taken by nine Delaware Indians from a plantation two miles from McDowell's Mill. At the same time a party made marauding incursions into Peter's Township. They were discovered, on Sunday evening, by one Alexander, near the house of Thomas Barr. Although pursued he escaped and alarmed the fort at McDowell's Mill. Early on Monday morning, a party of fourteen men of Captain Croghan's command, who were at the mill, and about twelve other young men, set off to watch the movements of the Indians. Near Barr's house they fell in with fifty, and sent back for a reinforcement from the fort. The young lads proceeded by a circuitous route

to take the enemy in the rear, while the soldiers attacked in front. The impetuosity of the soldiers, however, defeated the plan. Scarce had they got within gun-shot when they fired upon the Indians, who were standing around the fire, and killed several of them at the first discharge. The savages returned fire, killing one of the soldiers and compelling the rest to retreat. The party of young men, hearing the report of fire-arms hastened up, and, finding the Indians on the ground which the soldiers had occupied, fired upon them with effect, but, concluding the soldiers had fled, or were slain, they also retreated. One of their number, Barr's son, was wounded, and would have perished by the tomahawk of an Indian, had not the savage been killed by a shot from Armstrong, who saw him running upon the lad. Soon after, the soldiers and young men being joined by a reinforcement from the mill, again sought the enemy, who, eluding the pursuit, crossed the creek near William Clark's, and attempted to surprise the fort. Their design, however, was discovered by two German lads, coming from foddering their master's cattle. One of the lads was killed, but the other reached the fort, which was immediately surrounded by the Indians, who, from a thicket, fired many shots at the men in the garrison, who appeared above the wall and returned the fire as often as they obtained sight of the enemy. At this time, two men crossing to the mill, fell into the middle of the assailants, but made their escape to the fort, though fired at three times. The party at Barr's house now came up, and drove the Indians through the thicket. In their retreat they met five men from Mr. Hoop's, riding to the mill, of whom they killed one and wounded another severely. The sergeant at the fort, having lost two of his men, declined to follow the enemy until his commander,

Mr. Crawford, who was at Hoop's, should return, and the snow falling thick, the Indians had time to burn Mr. Barr's house, and, in it, consumed their dead. On the morning of March 2, Mr. Crawford, with fifty men, went in quest of the enemy, but was unsuccessful in his search.

In April, 1756, McCord's fort on the Conococheague, was burnt by the Indians, and twenty-seven persons were killed or captured. William Mitchell, an inhabitant of Conococheague, had collected a number of reapers to cut down his grain; having gone out to the field, the reapers all laid down their guns at the fence, and set in to reap. The Indians allowed them to continue for some time, till they got out in the open field, when they secured the guns, and killed, or captured, every one. On August 27, 1756, there was a great slaughter, wherein thirty-nine persons were killed near the mouth of the Conococheague Creek. Early in the following November some Indians were but a few miles from McDowell's Mill, where they killed four soldiers, carried off Captain James Corkem and one man, killed six of the inhabitants and captured six children.

On April 23, 1757, John Martin and William Blair were killed, and Patrick McClelland wounded, who died of his wounds, near Maxwell's Fort; May 12, John Martin and Andrew Paul, both old men, were captured; June 24, Alexander Miller was killed, and two of his daughters, from Conococheague; July 27, Mr. McKissen wounded, and his two sons captured, at the South Mountain; August 15, William Mauson and his son killed near Cross's Fort; September 26, Robert Rush and John McCracken, with others, killed and taken captive near Chambersburg; November 9, John Woods, his wife and mother-in-law and John Archer's wife, were killed, four children taken and nine killed, near McDowell's Fort; May 21, 1758, Joseph

Gallady was killed, his wife and one child taken captive. On July 26, 1764, the Indians murdered a schoolmaster, named Brown, about three miles north of Green Castle, killed ten small children, and scalped and left for dead a young lad, Archibald McCullough, who recovered and lived for many years. Bard, in his "Narrative of Captivity," says, "It was remarkable that, with few exceptions, the scholars were much averse to going to school that morning." The account given by McCullough is that two of the scholars informed Mr. Brown that, on their way, they had seen Indians. The master, however, paid no attention to what had been told him, but ordered them to their books. Soon afterwards two old Indians and a boy rushed up to the door. The master seeing them, begged the Indians to take his life and spare the children, but, unfeelingly, the two old Indians stood at the door while the boy entered the building and, with a piece of wood in the form of an Indian maul, killed the master and scholars, after which all of them were scalped.





CHAPTER XXI.

FRONTIER FORTS.



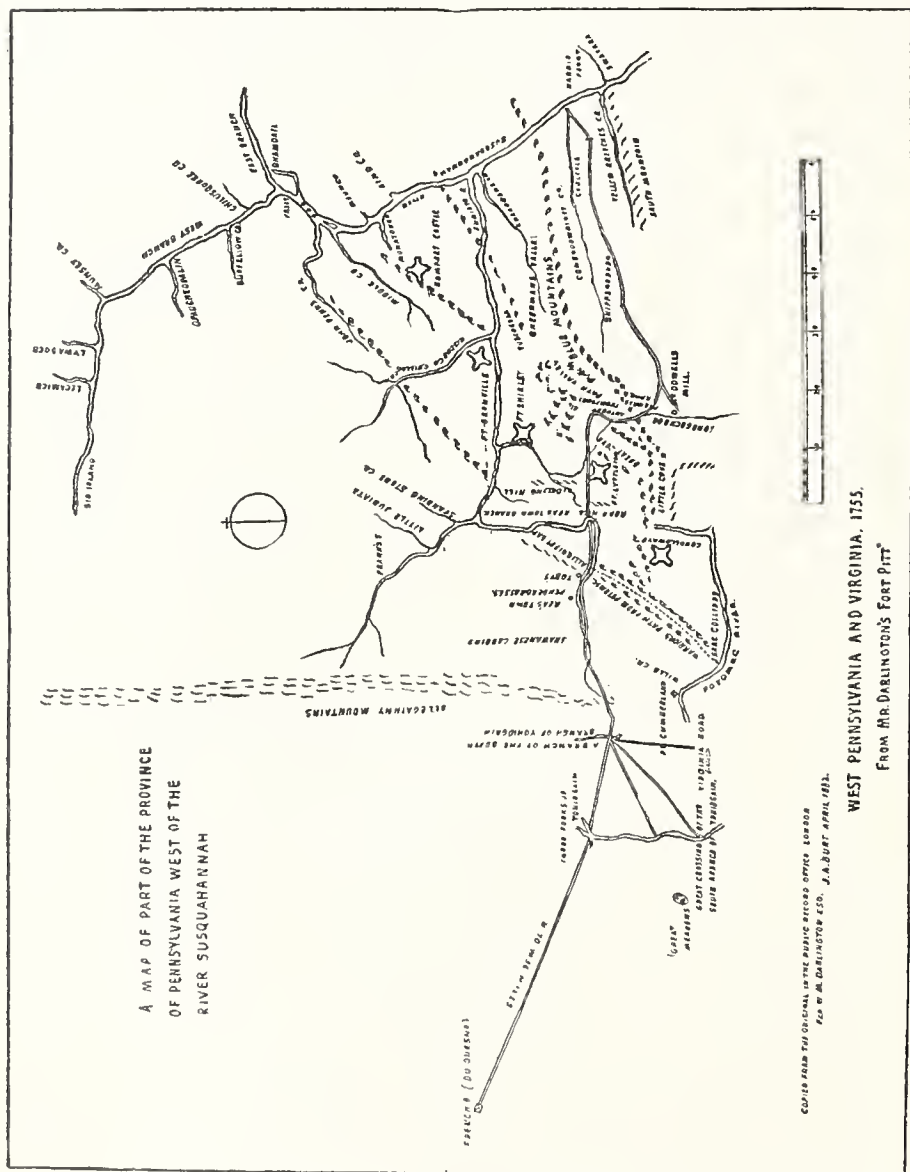
FORT LOUDOUN.

THIS fort was located about one mile distant from the present town of Loudoun, in Franklin County. It was erected by Colonel Armstrong at the outbreak of the war, and situated about two miles southwest from Parnell's Knob, on the east side of the West Branch of the

Conococheague Creek, where Nathan Patton lived. The village of Loudoun stands about one mile west of the old fort. There are still some faint indications outside of the yard, showing where it was built. The first intention was to locate the defense at Barr's, near McDowell's Mill, but this place was abandoned because the soil was considered too strong and heavy.

Before the wagon roads were made it was a great point of departure for pack-horse trains for Bedford, Fort Cum-

berland and Pittsburgh. Sir John Sinclair, quartermaster general of General Braddock, moved much of his supplies by that route, and had one of his principal magazines at



McDowell's. After Braddock's defeat a large part of his dispirited and destitute troops returned by the same route, and were quartered at Shippensburg and Carlisle. Later, the Province of Pennsylvania built a broad wagon road from Fort Loudoun westward, which General Forbes, Colonel Bouquet, and others used in their several expeditions.

Such progress was made on the fort, that, on December 22, 1756, Mr. Stevens wrote, "The public stores are safely removed from McDowell's Mill to Fort Loudoun—the barracks for the soldiers are built and some proficiency made in the stockade, the finishing of which will doubtless be retarded by the inclemency of the weather. Yesterday the escort of one hundred men returned from Lyttleton, who left the cattle, etc., safe there, and to-day will begin to dig a cellar in the new fort. The logs and roof of a new house having there been erected by Patton before the Indians burned his old one, we shall first appraise this house and then take the benefit of it, either for officers' barracks or a store house for provisions."

The first intention of Colonel Armstrong was to call it "Pomfret Castle," but it was named after Lord Loudoun, who arrived on the previous July 23rd, as general and commander-in-chief of all His Majesty's forces in North America.

FORT LYTTLETON.

In Fulton County a private stockade was erected, in the beginning of the French and Indian War, on the farm latterly owned by James Kendall, on the spot occupied by the dwelling, two miles south of McConnellsburg; another in the southern end of the county, on the farm latterly owned by Major George Chesnut, which was used as a place of refuge; while Fort Lyttleton, one of the chain

of government defenses, was located in the northern end of the county. It stood at Sugar Cabins, some twenty miles south of Fort Shirley, at Aughwick; of it Governor Morris says, February 9, 1756, in a letter to General Shirley: "It stands upon the new road opened by this Province towards the Ohio, and about twenty miles from the settlements, and I have called it Fort Lyttleton, in honor of my friend George. This fort will not only protect the inhabitants in that part of the Province, but being upon a road that, within a few miles, joins General Braddock's road, it will prevent the march of any regulars into the Province, and at the same time serve as an advance post or magazine in case of an attempt to the westward. For these reasons I have caused it to be built in a regular form, so that it may, in a little time and at a small expense, be so strengthened as to hold out against cannon."

When the unfortunate capture and destruction of McCord's Stockade occurred, April, 1756, Hance Hamilton, then in command at Fort Lyttleton, wrote to Captain Potter, under date of April 4, 1756, at 8 o'clock P. M.:

"These come to inform you of the melancholy news of what occurred between the Indians, that have taken many captives from McCord's Fort and a party of men under the command of Captain Alexander Culbertson and nineteen of our men, the whole amounting to about fifty, with the captives, and had a sore engagement, many of both parties killed and many wounded, the number unknown. Those wounded want a surgeon, and those killed require your assistance as soon as possible, to bury them. We have sent an express to Fort Shirley for Doctor Mercer, supposing Doctor Jamison is killed or mortally wounded in the expedition. He being not returned, therefore, desire you will send an express, immediately, for

Doctor Prentice to Carlisle, we imagining Doctor Mercer cannot leave the fort under the circumstances the fort is under."

At about the same time, Captain Hamilton sent some Cherokee Indians, who were with him in the king's pay, to search along the foot of the mountains to see if there were any signs of Indians on that route. This party came upon Captain Mercer unable to rise; they gave him food and carried him to Fort Lyttleton on an improvised stretcher.

FORT SHIRLEY.

In a line due north from Fort Lyttleton, distant about twenty miles, stood Fort Shirley, another provincial defense, in Huntingdon County, on or near the banks of the Aughwick Creek, flowing northward into the Juniata River, and not many miles distant from that river to the southward. Its location was within the limits of the present borough of Shirleysburg, on the east side of it about one-fourth of a mile from Aughwick Creek, where now stands the Shirleysburg Female Seminary. When Governor Morris made his inspection of the frontiers in December, 1755, to arrange a system of defense, he decided upon this spot because: "This stands near the great path used by the Indians and Indian traders, to and from the Ohio, and consequently the easiest way of access for the Indians into the settlements of this Province."

Previous to the erection of the government fort, and so soon as the first outbreak of the savages had taken place, when death and destruction was everywhere, Captain Croghan had already built a stockade, the beginning of November, 1755, at Aughwick, and said: "I have about forty men with me here, but how long I shall be able to keep it, I really can't tell." It is altogether probable that

this stockade was improved and enlarged, becoming the Fort Shirley of which we are writing. Captain Croghan continued in command of it until the latter part of March, 1756, some little time after its completion. He was relieved by Captain Hugh Mercer.

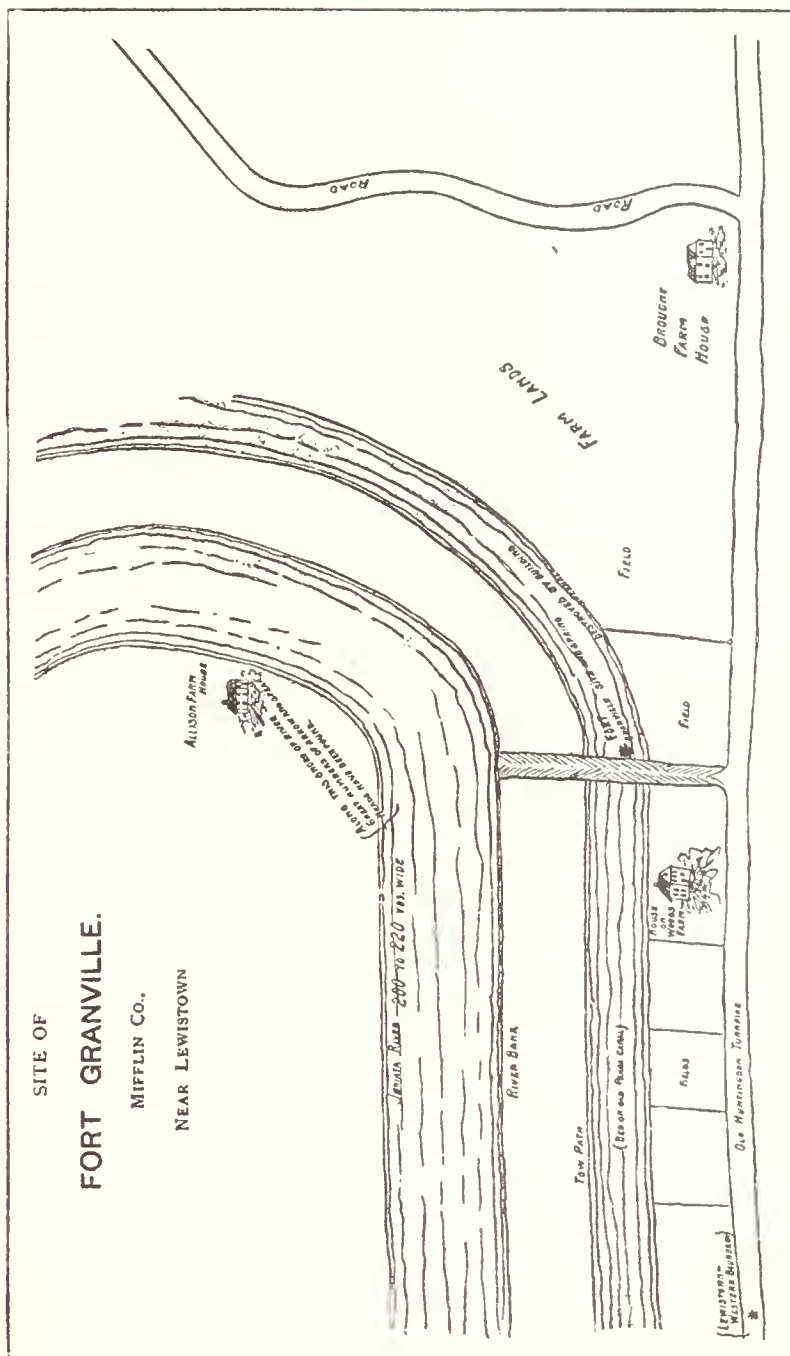
In July, 1756, the Indians from Kittanning, under Chiefs Shingas and Jacobs, captured and burned Fort Granville. Later in the season they prepared for new incursions and an attack on Fort Shirley. This, however, was prevented by the determination of the Government to strike the first blow. An expedition was organized, under Colonel John Armstrong, for the destruction of the enemy's headquarters, which rendezvoused at Fort Shirley and marched from thence, on August 30, 1756, against Kittanning, an account of which will be given in due time.

Unfortunately, the location and construction of Fort Shirley prevented it from being easily defended. With regard to this matter Colonel Armstrong wrote to Governor Morris, from Carlisle, on August 20th, as follows: "As Fort Shirley is not easily defended, and their water may be taken possession of by the enemy, it running at the foot of a high bank eastward of the fort and no well dug, I am of opinion, from its remote situation, that it cannot serve the country in the present circumstances, and if attacked, I doubt will be taken if not strongly garrisoned, but extremities excepted. I cannot evacuate this without your Honour's orders."

On October 15, 1756, Governor Denny announced to the Council at Philadelphia that Fort Shirley had been evacuated by his order.

FORT GRANVILLE.

This fort stood about a mile west of the present Lewistown, Mifflin County, immediately on the north side of the



SITE OF FORT GRANVILLE.

Juniata River, and westward from where the Kishacoquillas Creek empties its waters into the Juniata about the distance of one mile. The course of the old Pennsylvania Canal, in time, ran through its site, practically obliterating it. We are told: "It was selected because it commands a narrow pass where the Juniata River falls through the mountains, which is so circumstanced that a few men can maintain it against a great enemy, as the rocks are very high on each side and less than a gun-shot from below."

Some time prior to the war this locality was settled by Arthur Buchanan, his two sons and three other families. His first step was to call upon the Indians and signify his intention to purchase lands. Their head chief was Captain Jacobs, so named by Buchanan because of his close resemblance to a burly German in Cumberland County, whose connection with the war will especially appear in the account of Colonel Armstrong's expedition against Kittanning. At first the Indians were unwilling to sell, but, being liberally plied with liquor, finally decided to do so. What was paid for the land has not been divulged, but it is more than probable that the price consisted of the contents of the rum keg, a few trinkets and some tobacco.

On July 22, 1756, some sixty savages appeared before Fort Granville and challenged the garrison to a fight, which, however, was declined because of the weakness of the force. The Indians fired at and wounded one man, who had been a short way from the fort, but who managed to get into it safely; after this they divided into small parties, one of which attacked the plantation of one Baskins, near the Juniata, whom they murdered, burnt his house, and carried off his wife and children. Another party made Hugh Carroll and his family prisoners.

On July 30, 1756, Captain Edward Ward, the com-

mandant, marched from the fort, with a detachment comprising a large part of the garrison, for Tuscarora Valley, where they were needed to guard the settlers while harvesting their grain. The stockade was left in charge of Lieutenant Edward Armstrong. The Indians, knowing the weakness of the garrison, immediately surrounded the fort and began an attack upon it, which they continued, in their skulking manner, through the afternoon and following night, but without inflicting much damage. Finally, after many hours had been spent in their unsuccessful attacks, the Indians availed themselves of the protection afforded by a deep ravine, up which they passed from the river bank to within twelve or fifteen yards of the fort, and from that secure position succeeded in setting fire to the logs and burning out a large hole, through which they fired on the defenders, killing the commanding officer, Lieutenant Armstrong, and one private soldier, and wounding three others.

They then demanded the surrender of the fort and garrison, promising to spare their lives if the demand was acceded to. Upon this, a man named John Turner, previously a resident in the Buffalo Valley, opened the gates and the besiegers at once entered and took possession, capturing, as prisoners, twenty-two men, three women and a number of children. The fort was burned by Chief Jacobs, under orders of the French officer in command, and the savages then departed, driving before them their prisoners, heavily burdened with the plunder taken from the fort and the settlers' houses which they had robbed and burned. On their arrival at Kittanning, the Indian rendezvous, all the prisoners were cruelly treated, and Turner, the man who had opened the gate to the savages, suffered the cruel death by burning at the stake, enduring

the most horrible torment that could be inflicted upon him for a period of three hours, during which time red-hot gun barrels were forced through parts of his body, his scalp was torn from his head and burning splinters were stuck in his flesh, until, at last, an Indian boy, who was held up for the purpose, sank a hatchet in the brain of the victim and so released him from his agony.

Colonel Armstrong, in writing to Governor Morris, from Carlisle, on August 20, 1756, gives the following statement of Peter Walker, an escaped prisoner:

“This McDowell told Walker they designed very soon to attack Fort Shirley with four hundred men. Captain Jacobs said he would take any fort that would catch fire, and would make peace with the English when they had learned him to make gunpowder. McDowell told Walker they had two Indians killed in the engagement; but Captains Armstrong and Ward, whom I ordered on their march to Fort Shirley to examine everything at Granville and send a list of what remained among the ruins, assures me that they found some parts of eight of the enemy burnt, in two different places, the joints of them being scarcely separated; and part of their shirts found through which there were bullet holes. To secrete these from the prisoners was doubtless the reason why the French officer marched our people some distance from the fort before he gave orders to burn the barracks, &c. Walker says that some of the Germans flagged very much on the second day, and that the lieutenant behaved with the greatest bravery to the last, despising all the terrors and threats of the enemy whereby they often urged him to surrender. Though he had been near two days without water, but little ammunition left, the fort on fire and the enemy situate within twelve or fourteen yards of the fort under the natural

bank, he was as far from yielding as when at first attacked. A Frenchman in our service, fearful of being burned up, asked leave of the lieutenant to treat with his countrymen in the French language. The lieutenant answered 'The first word of French you speak in this engagement, I'll blow your brains out,' telling his men to hold out bravely, for the flame was falling and he would soon have it extinguished; but he soon after received the fatal shot."

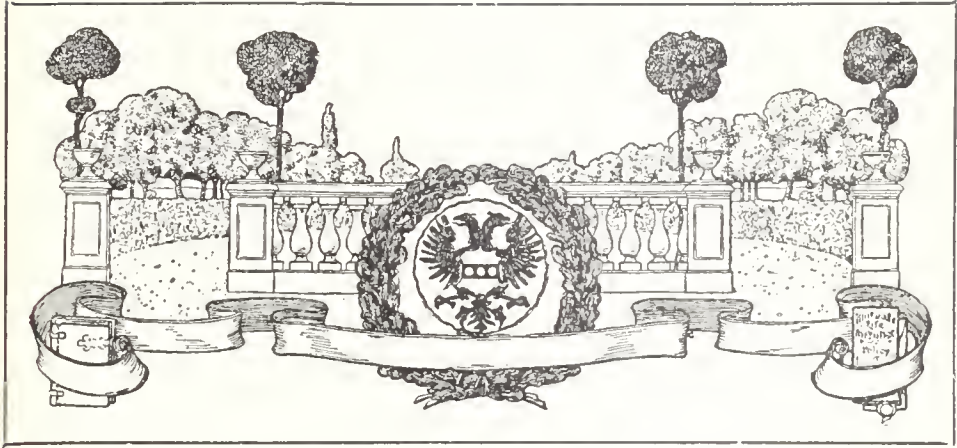
In addition to the above the following deposition was made, later, by John Hogan, another escaped prisoner, before Colonel Armstrong:

"Cumberland County, June 1st, 1757, before me, John Armstrong, Esquire, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the county of Cumberland aforesaid, came John Hogan, late a soldier belonging to Capt. Edward Ward's company of Foot in the pay of the Province of Pennsylvania, who declares and says that on or about the first day of August he with several others was taken prisoner at Fort Granville by a party of French and Indians—consisting of one hundred Indians and fifty French—who took him and the rest of the prisoners to Kittanning, where they were about three hours, at which time John Turner, one of the prisoners, was burnt. They were then taken down the river to Fort Duquesne where they were a few hours; the French and Indians not agreeing; when they proceeded to Logstown where he continued until he made his escape. And this deponent further says that the Indians sold a prisoner to the French for which they received a nine-gallon keg of brandy. The deponent states that he and George Hily, another prisoner, considered this a good time to escape, because it was customary for the Indians on such occasions to get drunk and have a frolic, which they

did, whereupon they set off and brought with them Martin Borrowelly, another prisoner, and arrived at the south branch of the Potomac in three weeks from the time of their escape. Sworn at Carlisle the first day of June, 1757, before

“JOHN ARMSTRONG.”





CHAPTER XXII.

THE STORY OF MANADA.



MANADA FORT.

IN returning to the defenses east of the Susquehanna we reach those along the Blue Range, where nearly all the settlers were of German blood.

The first in order, from Fort Hunter, were the ones at Manada Gap, some twelve miles distant. They were three in number, one of which only was erected by the Government.

At this point in the Blue Range the mountains are broken up into a series of ranges, known as the First Mountain, the Second, Third, Fourth, Peter's Mountain, etc. Manada Gap is the narrow passage in the First Mountain where the Manada Creek, formed between it and the Second Mountain, has forced its way through, on its journey towards its larger sister, the Swatara Creek.

Right at this entrance stands, to-day, the grist mill of Mr. Jacob Early, on the site of the old Robinson mill, which occupied land belonging, at one time, to Timothy Green. The original Robinson's Mill was a stone structure, which, at the outbreak of the war, had been pierced with loopholes and served, admirably, as a place of refuge before the advent of provincial troops and a provincial fort. It was from this building, called "Robeson's Fort," that, one day, a lad standing at a corner window, while watching some of the men dressing meat, noticed the approach of an Indian who was endeavoring to conceal himself behind a green bush, and who fled when discovered and fired upon.

Excellent in itself as a place of defense, the mill was too close to the mountain to be conveniently located as a place of refuge and protection for the settlers, whose dwellings were generally more distant from the Gap proper. Therefore, with the formation of a regular military establishment by the Province, Captain Smith, who on January 26, 1756, had relieved Captain Adam Read and his militia company, was ordered to take a detachment of his company, proceed to Manada Gap, and there either strengthen the old stockade of the settlers, or erect a new one, as he might see fit. This would indicate that the people had already made some progress on a stockade of their own, at a suitable place. It is more than likely that Captain Smith occupied and completed it. It stood on what is now the property of William Rhoads, at the west end of the field on which the house is built, and some three-quarters of a mile below the Gap. About one-half mile to the southeast is the Methodist meeting house, and, probably an equal distance to the southwest, the Manada Furnace. No trace of the fort remains, nor any knowledge of its

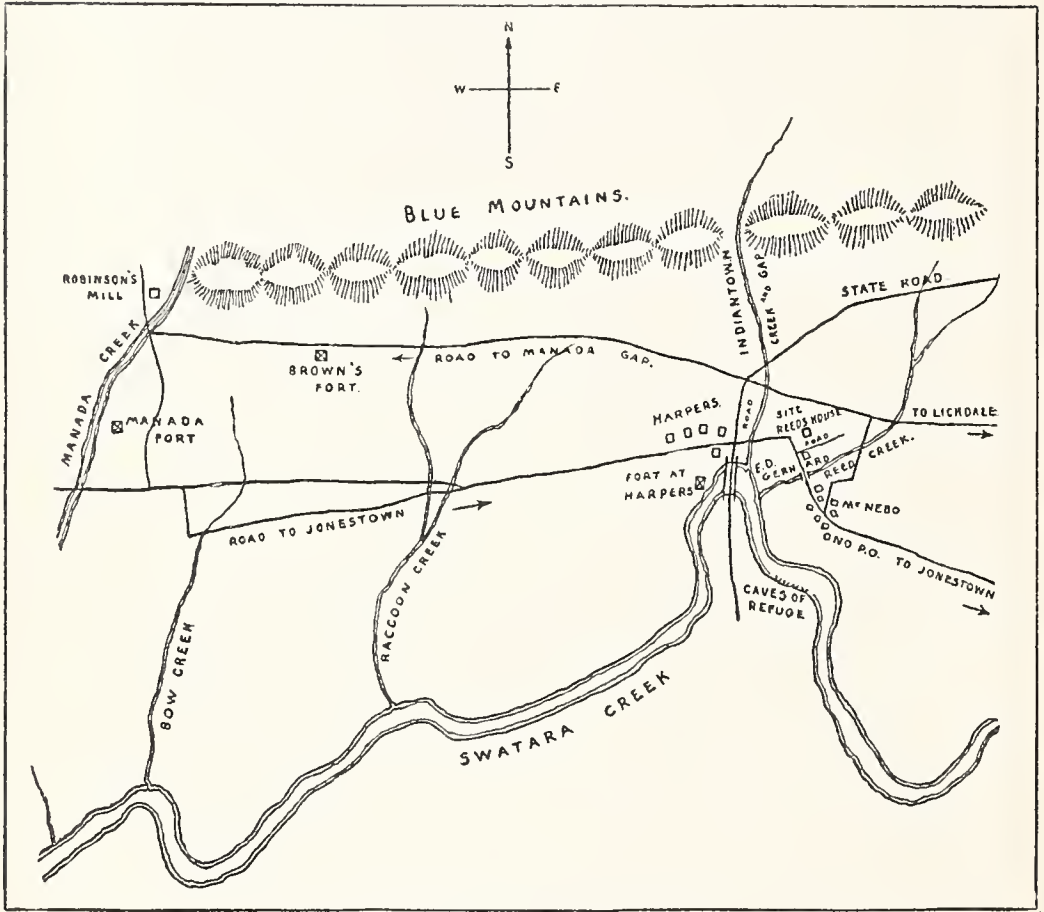
appearance, but it doubtless consisted merely of one block-house surrounded by a stockade.

The third defense, known as "Brown's Fort" was merely a private house, garrisoned by a squad of Captain Smith's company during the harvest season of 1756. It was a stone building which stood close to the foot of the mountain, on the main road between Fort Swatara, Manada Fort and Manada Gap, about one and three-quarter miles east from Manada Fort. Part of the walls of the building are still in existence.

Another location of interest in the neighborhood is the home of Adam Read. As Justice of the Peace he was very prominent; his house became the rallying point of the settlers in the early part of the war, at which time he was commissioned a captain, and guarded the frontier until relieved by the provincial troops. It stood on Read's Creek, just above its mouth, which empties into the Swatara Creek some one and a quarter miles southeast from the village of Harper's. It was at this latter place, where the Swatara makes a sharp bend to the north, that Adam Harper settled himself at an early period, at which was then the most western location in the county. He was surrounded by Indians, who had a string of wigwams hard by his home. He kept the first public house in all that region of country, and the place is still known as "Harper's Tavern." Not half a mile distant from it, in 1756, the Indians killed five or six persons. A woman, a sister of Major Leidig, was scalped by the Indians, but survived the barbarous act and lived for years afterwards.

About two miles distant from Harper's, and one and a half miles south of the village of Mt. Nebo, caves are still to be found along the banks of the Swatara Creek which, local tradition unites in saying, were used by the settlers as places of refuge from the Indians.

With this understanding of localities and locations we are prepared to read some of the incidents pertaining to the war.



SITE OF FORTS AT MANADA GAP.

In August, 1756, a soldier, named Jacob Ellis, belonging to Captain Smith's company, was stationed at Brown's Fort. He lived just within Manada Gap, and as his wheat was ripe he was anxious to harvest. Having prevailed upon his officer to give him an escort of ten men,

during the early morning of August 6, they proceeded to his home and started to work. Unfortunately, they kept a poor lookout, so that, about 10 A. M., after they had reaped down the field and were about ready to begin at the head once more, they were surprised by three Indians, who had crept up to the fence at their backs, and who opened fire upon them, killing the corporal outright and wounding a soldier who was standing beside him with a gun in one hand and a bottle in the other, so that his left arm was broken in two places and his gun fell to the ground. Seeing that the men had piled their guns at a large tree half-way down the field, the Indians rushed into their midst, uttering terrible cries and war-whoops. The soldiers at once ran for their arms, and, as one of the savages, who had left his gun on the other side of the fence, was hastening to secure that of the wounded man, he was shot by three who stood behind the tree before he had an opportunity to kill his victim. Pandemonium reigned supreme for a short time, but the Indians finally fled, being outnumbered. One of them ran between two soldiers, both of whom fired at him but missed him; another was wounded but also managed to get away. As they left the field they fired one gun and gave a halloa.

The soldiers, having hid the man who was killed, went back to the fort and then found that James Brown who lived in the house, was missing. The lieutenant went from Manada Fort, with more men, and brought in the dead body but could find no trace of Brown. Adam Read, hearing the noise of the firing at his home, went up, with some neighbors, the next morning, to see if he could render any assistance. Captain Smith, being notified of the occurrence, also came up from Fort Swatara the same morning. In the meantime the body of the missing

man had been found. He was killed by the last shot fired by the Indians, and had been scalped.

In October, 1756, Adam Read wrote to the Provincial Council the following letter, setting forth the condition of affairs at that time, and pleading for assistance:

"Friends and Fellow Subjects:

"I send you, in a few lines, the maloncholly condition of the Frontiers of this Country; last Tuesday the 12 of this Instant, ten Indians came on Noah Frederick plowing in his Field, Killed and scalped him and carried away three of his children that was with him, the Eldest but Nine Years old, plundered his House, and carried away everything that suited their purpose, such as Cloaths, Bread, Butter, a Saddle and good Rifle Gun &ca, it being but two short miles from Captain Smith's Fort, at Swatawro Gap, and a little better than two from my House.

"Last Saturday Evening an Indian came to the House of Philip Robeson, carrying a Green Bush before him, said Robeson's Son being on the Corner of his Fort watching others that was dressing flech by him, the Indian perceiving that he was observed fled; the watchman fired but missed him; this being three-quarters of a mile from Manady Fort; and Yesterday Morning, two miles from Smith's Fort, at Swatawro, in Bethel Township, as Jacob Fornival was going from the house of Jacob Meyler to his own, was fird upon by two Indians and wounded, but escaped with his life, and a little after, in the said Township, as Frederick Henley and Peter Stample was carrying away their Goods in waggons was met by a parcel of Indians and all killed, five lying Dead in one place and one Man at a little distance, but what more is done is not come to my Hand as yet, but that the Indians was continuing

their Murders. The Frontiers is employed in nothing but carrying off their Effects, so that some miles is now waist. We are willing, but not able without help; You are able if you be willing (that is Including the lower parts of the Country) to give us such assistance as will enable us to redeem our waist Land; You may depend on it that without Assistance we in a few days will be on the wrong side of you, for I am now a Frontier, and I fear that the Morrow Night I will be left some miles. Gentlemen, consider what you will do, and not be long about it, and let not the world say that we die as fools dyed. Our Hands is not tied, but let us exert ourselves and do something for the Honour of our Country and preservation of our Fellow Subjects; I hope you will communicate our Grievances to the lower parts of our Country, for surely they will send us some help if they understand our Grievances. I wou'd have gone down myself, but dare not, my Family is in such Danger. I expect an Answer by the Bearer, if Possible.

“I am, Gentlemen, Your very humble Servant,

“ADAM READ.

“Before sending this away I have just rec'd information that there is seven Killed & five Children Scalped a Live, but not the Account of their names.”

The following interesting incident is related by Dr. Egle in his “History of Dauphin County”:

“The Barnetts and their immediate neighbors erected a block house in proximity to Col. Green's Mill (Robinsons, now Earlys Mill on land of Timothy Green) on the Manada, for the better safety of their wives and children, while they cultivated their farms in groups, one or

two standing as sentinels. In the year 1757 there was at work on the farm of Mr. Barnett a small group, one of which was an estimable man named Mackey. News came with flying speed that their wives and children were all murdered at the block house by the Indians. Preparation was made immediately to repair to the scene of horror. While Mr. Barnett with all possible haste was getting ready his horse, he requested Mackey to examine his rifle to see that it was in order. Everything right they all mounted their horses rifle in hand, and galloped off, taking a near way to the block house. A party of Indians lying in ambush rose and fired at Mr. Barnett, who was foremost, and broke his right arm. His rifle dropped; an Indian snatched it up and shot Mr. Mackey through the heart. He fell at their feet, and one secured his scalp. Mr. Barnett's father, who was in the rear of his company, turned back, but was pursued by the Indians, and narrowly escaped with his life. In the meantime Mr. Barnett's noble and high spirited horse, which the Indians greatly wished to possess, carried him swiftly out of the enemy's reach, but, becoming weak and faint from the loss of blood, he fell to the ground and lay for a considerable time unable to rise. At length, by a great effort, he crept to a buckwheat field, where he concealed himself until the Indians had retired from the immediate vicinity, and then, raising a signal, he was soon perceived by a neighbor who, after hesitating for some time for fear of the Indians, came to his relief. Surgical aid was procured, and his broken arm bound up, but the anxiety of his mind respecting his family was a heavy burden which agonized his soul, and not until the next day did he hear that they were safe, with the exception of his eldest son, then eight or nine years of age, whom the Indians had

taken prisoner, together with a son of Mackey's about the same age. The savages on learning that one of their captives was a son of Mackey, whom they had just killed, compelled him to stretch his father's scalp and this heart-rending, soul-sickening office he was obliged to perform in sight of the mangled body of his father.

"The Indians escaped with the two boys westward, and, for a time, Mackey's son carried his father's scalp, which he would often stroke with his little hand and say 'my father's pretty hair.'

"Mr. Barnett lay languishing on a sick-bed, his case doubtful for a length of time, but, having a strong constitution, he, at last, through the blessing of God, revived, losing about four inches of a bone near the elbow of his right arm.

"But who can tell the intense feeling of bitterness which filled the mind and absorbed the thoughts of him and his tender sensitive companion, their beloved child traversing the wilderness, a prisoner with a savage people, exposed to cold and hunger and subject to their wanton cruelty? Who can tell of their sleepless nights, the anxious days, prolonged through long, weary months and years; their fervent prayers, their bitter tears, and enfeebled health?

"The prospect of a treaty with the Indians, with the return of prisoners, at length brought a gleam of joy to the stricken hearts of these parents. Accordingly, Mr. Barnett left his family behind and set off with Col. Croghan and a body of five hundred 'regulars' who were destined to Fort Pitt for that purpose. Their baggage and provisions conveyed on pack horses, they made their way over the mountains with the greatest difficulty. When they arrived at their place of destination Col. Croghan made

strict inquiry concerning the fate of the little captives. After much fruitless search, he was informed that a squaw, who had lost a son, had adopted the son of Mr. Barnett and was very unwilling to part with him, and he, believing his father had been killed by the Indians, had become reconciled to his fate, and was much attached to his Indian mother.

“Mr. Barnett remained with the troops for some time without obtaining or even seeing his son. Fears began to be entertained at Fort Pitt of starvation. Surrounded by multitude of savages, there seemed little prospect of relief, and, to add to the despondency, a scouting party returned with the distressing news that the expected provisions, which were on the way to their relief, were taken by the Indians. They almost despaired,—five hundred men in a picket fort on the wild banks of the Allegheny River without provisions. The thought was dreadful. They became reduced to one milch cow each day, for five days, killed and divided among the five hundred. The three following days they had nothing. To their great joy, on the evening of the third provisions arrived. Every sunken, pale, despairing countenance gathered brightness, but, owing to its imprudent use, which the officers could not prevent, many died.

“While the treaty was pending many were killed by the Indians, who were continually prowling around the fort. One day Mr. Barnett wished a drink of water from Grant’s Spring (this spring is near Grant Street, in the city of Pittsburgh, known to most of the older inhabitants); he took his ‘camp-kettle’ and proceeded a few steps, when he suddenly thought the adventure might cost him his life, and turned back; immediately he heard the report of a rifle, and, looking towards the Spring, he

saw the smoke of the same,—the unerring aim of an Indian had deprived a soldier of life. They bore away his scalp, and his body was deposited on the bank of the Allegheny.

“The treaty was concluded and ratified by the parties; nevertheless great caution was necessary on the part of the whites, knowing the treachery of many of their foes.

“Mr. Barnett was most unhappy. His hopes concerning his child had not been realized, and he had been absent from his family already too long. Soon after the conclusion of the treaty a guard, with the pack horses, started to cross the mountains, and he gladly embraced the opportunity of a safe return. After injunctions laid upon Col. Croghan to purchase, if possible, his son, he bade him, and his associates in hardships, farewell, and, after a toilsome journey, reached home and embraced, once more, his family, who were joyful at his return. But the vacancy occasioned by the absence of one of its members still remained. He told them that William was alive, soothed their grief, wiped away the tears from the cheeks of his wife, and expressed a prayerful hope that, through the interposition of a kind Providence, he would eventually be restored to them.

“Faithful to his promise, Col. Croghan used every endeavor to obtain him. At length, through the instrumentality of traders, he was successful. He was brought to Fort Pitt, and, for want of an opportunity to send him to his father, was retained under strict guard, so great was his inclination to return to savage life. On one occasion he sprang down the bank of the Allegheny River, jumped into a canoe, and was midway in the stream before he was observed. He was quickly pursued, but reached the opposite shore, raised the Indian whoop, and hid himself among

the bushes. After several hours' pursuit he was retaken and brought back to the fort. Soon after, an opportunity offering, he was sent to Carlisle. His father, having business at that place, arrived after dark on the same day, and, without knowing, took lodging at the same public house where his son was, and who had been some time in bed. As soon as he was aware of the fact he asked eagerly to see him. The landlord entreated him to let the boy rest till morning, as he was much wearied by traveling. To this the father would not assent, replying, 'If a son of yours had been absent for three years could you rest under the same roof without seeing him?' The hardy host felt the appeal and led the way to the chamber. The sleeping boy was awakened and told his father stood by his bed. He replied in broken English, 'No my father.' At this moment his father spoke, saying, 'William, my son, look at me; I am your father!' On hearing his voice and seeing his face he sprang from the bed, clasped him in his arms, and shouted, 'My father! My father is still alive!' All the spectators shed tears, the father wept like a child, while from his lips flowed thankful expressions of gratitude, to the Almighty disposer of all events, that his long-lost child was again restored.

"Early the next day the father and son were on the road homewards, where they arrived on the second day in the dusk of the evening. The rattling of the wheels announced their approach; the mother and all the children came forth. She, whose frequent prayers had heretofore been addressed to the Throne of Divine Grace for the safety and return of her son, now trembled and was almost overcome as she beheld him led by his father and presented to her, the partner of her sorrows. She caught him to her bosom and held him long in her embrace, while

tears of joy flowed. His brothers and sisters clustered around and welcomed him with a kiss of affection. It was a scene of deep feeling not to be described, and known only to those who have been in similar circumstances. The happy family, all once more beneath the parental roof, knelt down and united in thanksgiving to Almighty God for all His mercies to them in protecting and restoring to their arms a beloved and long absent child.

“The children scrutinized him with curiosity and amazement. Dressed in Indian costume, composed of a breech-cloth around the waist, with moccasins and leggins, his hair about three inches long, and standing erect, he presented a strange appearance. By degrees he laid aside the dress of the wilderness, which he greatly preferred, forgot the Indian language, and became reconciled to his native home. But the rude treatment which he received from the Indians impaired his constitution. They frequently broke holes in the ice on rivers and creeks and dipped him in to make him hardy, which his feeble system could not endure without injury.

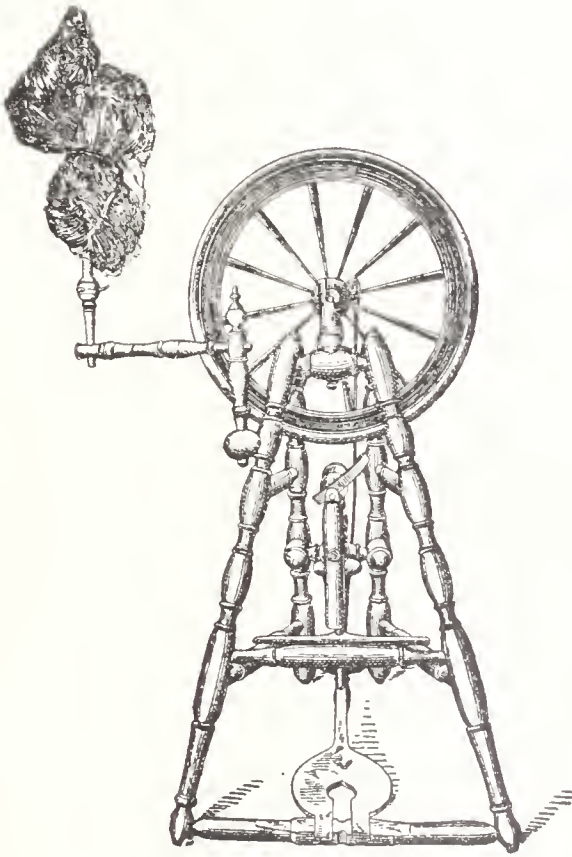
“Respecting the son of Mackey, he was given by the Indians to the French, and passed into the hands of the English, and was taken to England, came as a soldier in the British army to America at the time of the Revolutionary war. He procured a furlough from his officers and sought out his widowed mother, who was still living, and who had long mourned him as dead. She could not recognize him after the lapse of so many years. He stood before her a robust, fine-looking man, in whom she could see no familiar traces of her lost boy. He called her ‘mother,’ and told her he was her son, which she did not believe. ‘If you are my son,’ she said, ‘you have a mark upon your knee that I will know.’ His knee was

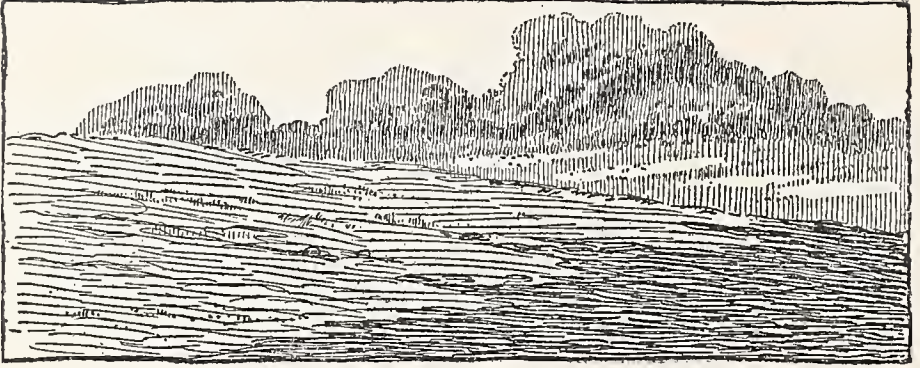
exposed to her view, and she instantly exclaimed 'My son indeed!' Half frantic with joy, she threw her arms around his neck, and was clasped in those of her son. 'Oh, my son,' said she, 'I thought you were dead, but God has preserved you and given me this happiness. Thanks, thanks to His name! Through long years I have mourned that sorrowful day which bereft me of my husband and child. I have wept in secret till grief has nearly consumed me, till my heart grew sick and my poor brain almost crazed by the remembrance. I have become old more through sorrow than years, but I have endeavored to "kiss the rod" which chastised me. My afflictions have not been sent in vain, they have had their subduing and purifying effect; heaven became more attractive as earth became dark and desolate. But I now feel that I shall yet see earthly happiness. Nothing in this world, my son, shall separate us but death.' He never returned to the British army, but remained with his mother and contributed to her support in her declining years.

"There was another interesting meeting, that of Mackey with the son of Mr. Barnett. They recapitulated the scenes of hardship through which they passed while together with the Indians, which were indelibly impressed upon the memory of both. They presented a great contrast in appearance,—Barnett a pale, delicate man, and Mackey the reverse. The former sank into an early grave, leaving a wife and daughter. The daughter married a Mr. Franks, who subsequently removed to the city of New York.

"Mr. Barnett, the older, after experiencing a great sorrow in the loss of his wife, removed to Allegheny County, spending his remaining days with a widowed daughter. He died in November, 1808, aged eighty-two

years, trusting in the merits of a Divine Providence. His eventful and checkered life was a life of faith, always praying for a sanctified use of his trials, which were many. His dust reposes in the little churchyard of Lebanon, Mifflin Township, Allegheny County."





CHAPTER XXIII.

ON THE SWATARA.



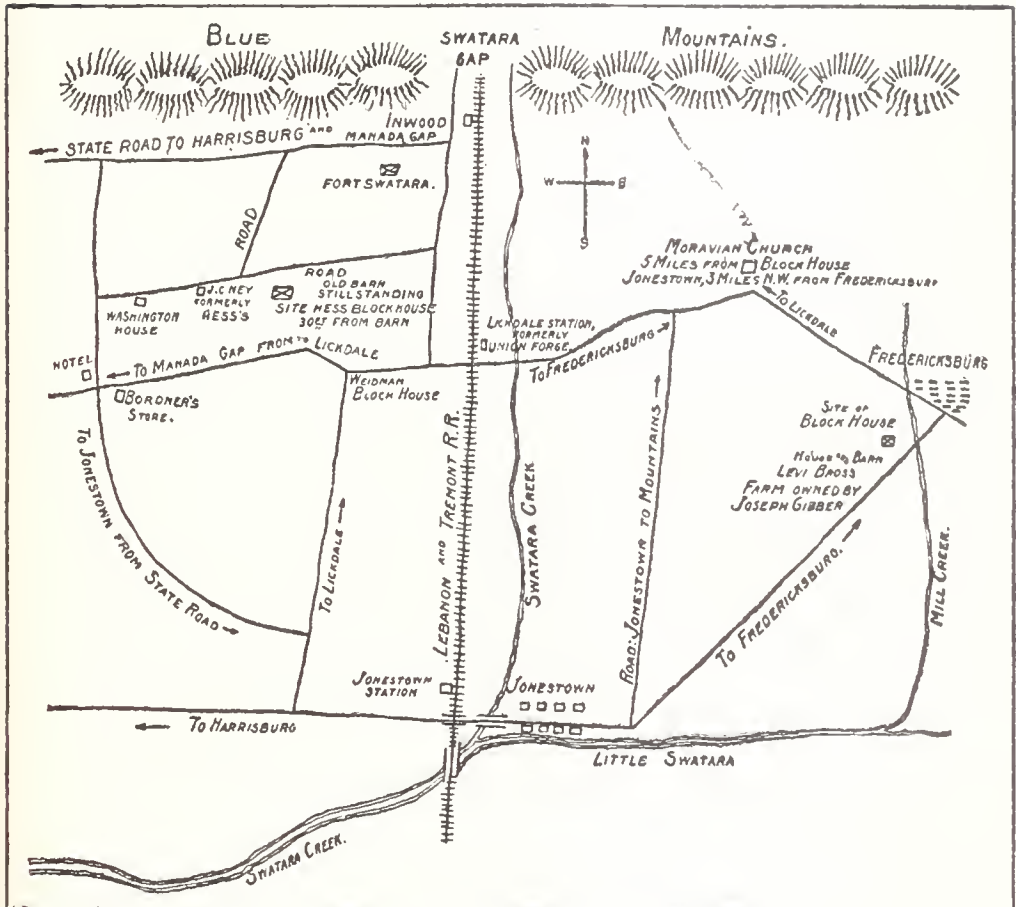
FORT SWATARA.

AFTER the massacre at Penn's Creek, on October 16, 1755, the savages took a direct route to the Swatara Gap, as the easiest and most convenient place of access to the thickly settled regions south of the mountains. To save and protect themselves, as best they could, the settlers selected the home of Peter Heydrick and turned it into a place of defense and refuge. Like Adam Read Mr. Heydrick was commissioned as captain of a militia company, which garrisoned the improvised fort and ranged over the vicinity until relieved by the provincial troops.

The reader has already been told of the sad events which occurred in this locality during the fall of 1755.

On January 6, 1756, Captain Frederick Smith, of Chester County, was ordered to proceed, with his company, to Reading, there to be mustered into the provincial service

by James Read. This having been done, on the twenty-sixth of the same month he was ordered to the "gap at Tolehaio where Swehatara comes through the mountain, and in some convenient place there to erect a Fort, of the



SITE OF FORT SWATARA.

form and dimensions herewith given you, unless you shall Judge the Staccado, already erected there, conveniently placed, in which case you will take possession of it, and make such additional works as you may think necessary to render it sufficiently strong and defenceable."

He found the stockade erected by the settlers to be well located and available for the purpose. It was therefore completed and strengthened, becoming the Fort Swatara of our sketch.

It stood in what is now a field, at the end of the private farm road leading from the State Road to the farm of Joseph Behny, distant from the former some eighty yards, and from Inwood Station, at Swatara Gap, three-quarters of a mile southwest. It is about twelve miles east of Manada Gap. The farm was sold by Elizabeth Shuey to William Coppenhaver, and by him to Jacob Behney, whose home is near that of Joseph. It is on the left side of the road, with a spring at the southwest corner of the fort, and a fine run of water directly south of it, flowing east and west. It commands the roads to Harrisburg, Swatara Gap, and the country below. The defense was doubtless a single block-house surrounded by a stockade.

In 1757 Fort Swatara furnished its proportion of the 110 men ordered by Colonel Weiser to act as guards at the Easton Treaty with the Indians. On February 5, 1758, Adjutant Kern reports, at Fort Swatara, Lieutenant Allen with thirty-three men, and its distance to Fort Hunter, on the Susquehanna, as twenty-four miles. On February 9, James Young, Commissary of Musters, reports one company of forty-six men on duty. James Burd, during his tour of inspection, visited the fort, and has the following to say of it:

“SUNDAY, Feby. 19th, 1758.

“This day at 11 A. M., march’d for Fort Swettarrow, got to Crawford’s 14 miles from Hunter’s (Fort Hunter), here I stay all night, it rain’d hard.

“Had a number of applications from the country for protection . . .

“20th, Monday.

“March’d this morning at 11 A. M., mett a Serg’t & 12 men here, who march’d with me back to Swettarrow, this day it rain’d much, gott to Swettarrow Fort at 4 P. M., the roads extream bad, the soldiers march with great difficulty, found Capt’n Lieu’t Allen & 38 men here per report; this is 11 miles from Crawford’s.

“21st, Tuesday.

“Reviewed the Garrison this morning at 10 A. M., & found 38 men, Vis’t 21 belonging to Cap’t Leu’t Allen, & 17 detached from Capt’n Weiser’s Co.; of Capt’n Allen’s 13 men for 3 years, no province arms fitt for use, no kettles, nor blankets, 12 lb. of poudder & 25 lb. of lead, no poudder Horns, pouches, nor cartouch boxes, no Tomahawks nor Province tools of any kind, 2 months provision.

“Some Soldiers absent & others hyr’d in their place which has been a custom here, the soldiers under no Discipline. Ordered a Serg’t & 12 men to be always out upon the Scout from hence to Crawford’s, keeping along the blue mountain, altering their routs, & a targett to be erected 6 inches thick, in order to practice the Soldiers in Shooting.

“This day 12 M. D., the country people came here, I promise them to station an officer & 25 men at Robertson’s Mill, this mill is situate in the center between the Forts Swattarrow & Hunter, this gave the People Content.

“March’d at 1 P. M., for Fort Henry . . .”

Among the old residents and sufferers of the locality were Mr. Noacre or Noecker, who was shot dead in his field while ploughing, and one Philip Maurer, killed while cradling oats. The house of Martin Hess, about one mile southwest from the fort, was frequently used as a place

of refuge. On one occasion Matthias Boeshore, while retreating to it from the enemy, had just got inside of the door, seized his gun and turned upon his pursuers, when he received a shot from an Indian, wounding him, fortunately but slightly, the ball striking the flint of his musket and glancing off into his left side.

Besides the Hess refuge there was used, for the same purpose, the Weidman house, at Lickdale, formerly Union Forge. The original old mansion still stands, but its former appearance has been completely changed by the weatherboarding placed over it. It is beautifully surrounded by a grove of trees, and stands about fifty yards back from the road.

Still another refuge was the block house near Fredericksburg, on the farm of John Groh, one of the first settlers of Bethel Township. It was sold to J. H. Lick and Joseph Gibber, the present owner. Some ten years ago it was torn down, and the logs used in the new building which stands nearly, if not quite, on the site of the old house. At the time it was torn down it was noticed that the loopholes were blackened with powder, showing the active use to which it had been put. It is on the road from Jonestown to Fredericksburg, about three hundred yards from the latter place, and on the banks of a small stream. It was some thirty-two feet long, sixteen feet wide, and one story high, with an overhang garret having holes pierced in the floor, thus enabling its defenders to shoot downward.

Even the churches of the locality had their share in the active history of the period, being used, at times, for defense and refuge. Of this number was the Moravian Church, located about three miles northwest from Fredericksburg, and five miles north from Jonestown, on the road leading from Fredericksburg to Lickdale, along the

mountain. The grave-yard, in which a number of persons murdered by the Indians lie buried, is about two hundred feet in rear of the barn. The barn and house, belonging to Josiah Shugar, which now stand on the property, were partly built of logs from the old church, which looked to be in an excellent state of preservation. It was torn down some twenty or twenty-five years ago. Another edifice of the same character was the old Swatara church (Lutheran and Reformed), of which not a trace is left. It stood about two miles northeast of Jonestown, and about one-half mile north of the road from Jonestown to Bernville.

It was near this latter building that a Mrs. Snavelly (Schnaebele) had a thrilling experience, whose husband had been murdered by the Indians, and who had returned from the Tulpehocken region to see whether it would be judicious for her to bring her family back:

“After proceeding about two miles eastward from her farm, and passing the old Swatara Church, a building long since razed and the graveyard destroyed, two Indians rushed forward to catch her horse. She applied the whip vigorously. . . . For a few minutes the race was for life. The Indians followed her so closely that one of them grasped the saddle cloth. But the horse being fleet of foot and urged by the terrible whoop of the Indians, she managed to escape.”

The town of Lebanon, being then comparatively well settled, was resorted to, as a place of safety, by hundreds of families who fled from the frontier settlements. Sixty families, at one time, had taken shelter in the house of John Light, still standing in the northwest section of the city, and known among the people there as the “old Fort.” It is a dilapidated stone structure fast going to ruin, having

an arched vault under the first floor (which is stone and earth) spacious enough to shelter, comfortably, one hundred people. It used to have a running spring in this cellar, which is now dried up. The house was used as a Mennonite meeting house, residence, fort, and, later, distillery, and now furnishes shelter for the goats and sparrows.

Another place of refuge in Lebanon was the old Gloninger house, on West Cumberland Street. It was the home of George Gloninger, from whom have descended a family prominent in local annals. Built somewhere in the decade between 1740-1750, it was a good specimen of the architecture of those days. Somewhat altered, it became, later, a farm house, then a boarding house for Italian iron mill workers, and, finally, was utterly destroyed by fire on the afternoon of December 9, 1903.

The Ulrich house of refuge was erected in 1751, a quarter of a mile north of the Annville railroad station. The refuge itself was merely a vault, built into a hill-side, with an air-hole walled out. It has a stone with this inscription:

“SO OFT DIE DIER DEN ANKEL WENT
AN DEINEN TOD, OMENSCH GEDENK ”

1751

(A free translation)

“Whene’er this door its hinge does turn,
May thought of death to thee return.”

Over it Mr. Ulrich’s descendants erected a stone building, which has been remodeled, but the refuge has remained intact.

Another place of similar character was the Zeller home, erected in 1745 on land owned by Heinrich Zellers, and, recently, in possession of his eighth lineal descendant, Mr. Monroe P. Zellers, a musician of wide renown. From

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GLONINGER HOUSE OF REFUGE.

its inception it was intended for protection and refuge, and was built of solid masonry, ornamented, in part, with carved stone door-jambs and head-stones or lintels. It stood near the village of Newmanstown, in Lebanon County.

It is related of the original Mrs. Zellers that she superintended the construction of the house, while her husband was absent on an expedition against the Indians, and that her laborers were colored slaves. It is also said, of this same Christine Zellers, that, when alone one day, she saw three prowling savages approach, heading for a small opening into the cellar still in existence. She quickly descended the cellar steps and stationed herself at this window with an uplifted axe. Presently the head of the first Indian protruded through the hole, when she quickly brought down the weapon with an effective blow. Dragging the body in, she disguised her voice and, in Indian language, called his companions to follow, which they did and were all dispatched in like manner. It is said to have been attacked during the time of hostilities.

In addition to these buildings, the Moravian church, erected in 1750, a mile and a half east from Gloninger's, was occupied by refugees, the principal part of whom had fled from the Moravian settlements in Bethel Township.

One John Spitler, son-in-law to Jacob Miley, was shot dead while fixing up a pair of bars, and his body cruelly mangled. Mrs. Miley escaped by taking refuge in the watch house at her father's, a few miles from Stumptown. This happened in May, 1757. Spitler's mangled corpse was interred in the Moravian graveyard at Hebron, near Lebanon. The following, touching his murder, is found in the records of the Hebron Church:

“1757, May den 16, wurde Johannes Spitler, Jr., ohnweit von seinem Hause, an der Schwatara von moederischen Indianern ueberfallen und ermordet. Er war im acht und dreisigstein Jahr seines Alters, und verwichenenes Jahr im April, an der Schwatara auf genommen. Seine uebelzugericht tette Leiche wurde den 17 ten May hieher gebracht, und bei einer grossen Menge Leute begleitet auf unsern hiesigen Gottesacker beerdight.”

In Bethel Township the people suffered greatly. In November, 1755, twenty persons were killed and some children carried off. “Shocking,” says the Secretary of the Province, “are the descriptions given by those who escaped of the horrid cruelties and indecencies, committed by the merciless savages, on the bodies of those unhappy wretches who fell into their hands, especially the women, without regard to age or sex, these far exceeded those related of the most abandoned pirates.”

On June 8, 1756, at “The Hole,” Swatara Gap, they crept up, unobserved, behind the fence of Felix Wuench, shot him through the breast, as he was ploughing; he cried lamentably and ran, but the Indians soon caught up to him, and, although he defended himself some time with his whip, they cut his head and breast with their tomahawks and scalped him. His wife, hearing his cries and the report of two guns, ran out of the house, but was soon taken by the enemy who carried her away with them, together with one of her own and two of her sister’s children, after setting the house on fire, and otherwise destroying property.

A servant boy, who was at some distance, seeing this, ran to his neighbor, George Miess, who, though he had a lame leg, ran, with his son, directly after the Indians,

raising at the same time, a great noise, which so alarmed the Indians that they immediately ran off, leaving behind them a tub of butter and side of bacon. Mr. Meiss then went to the house, which was in flames, and threw down the fences in order to save the barn. The Indians had drunk all the brandy in the spring house, and took several gammons, a quantity of meal, some loaves of bread, and a great many other things with them. Had it not been for the courage of Mr. Meiss they would have attacked another house. They shot one of the horses in the plough, and dropped a large French knife.

Shortly after committing the above murder the Indians killed a child of Lawrence Dippel's, a boy about four years old, who was found cruelly murdered and scalped. Another lad, about six years old, was carried off.

On June 26, 1756, they surprised and scalped two men. Franz Albert and Jacob Haendsche, also two lads, Frederick Weiser and John George Miess, who were ploughing in the field of one Fischer, and shot two horses.

In August, 1757, as John Winkelbach's two sons and Joseph Fischback, a provincial soldier, went out about sunrise to bring in the cows, they were fired upon by about fifteen Indians. The two lads were killed, one being scalped, the other reaching the house before he died. The soldier was wounded in the head.

In May, 1757, the house of Isaac Snevely was set on fire and entirely consumed, with eighteen horses and cows. On May 17, five men and a woman were killed and scalped about thirty miles from Lancaster. In a letter to the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, from Hanover Township, dated August 11, it is stated that, on Monday, the eighth, George Maurer was killed and scalped while cutting oats in George Scheffer's field. "There is now," says the same

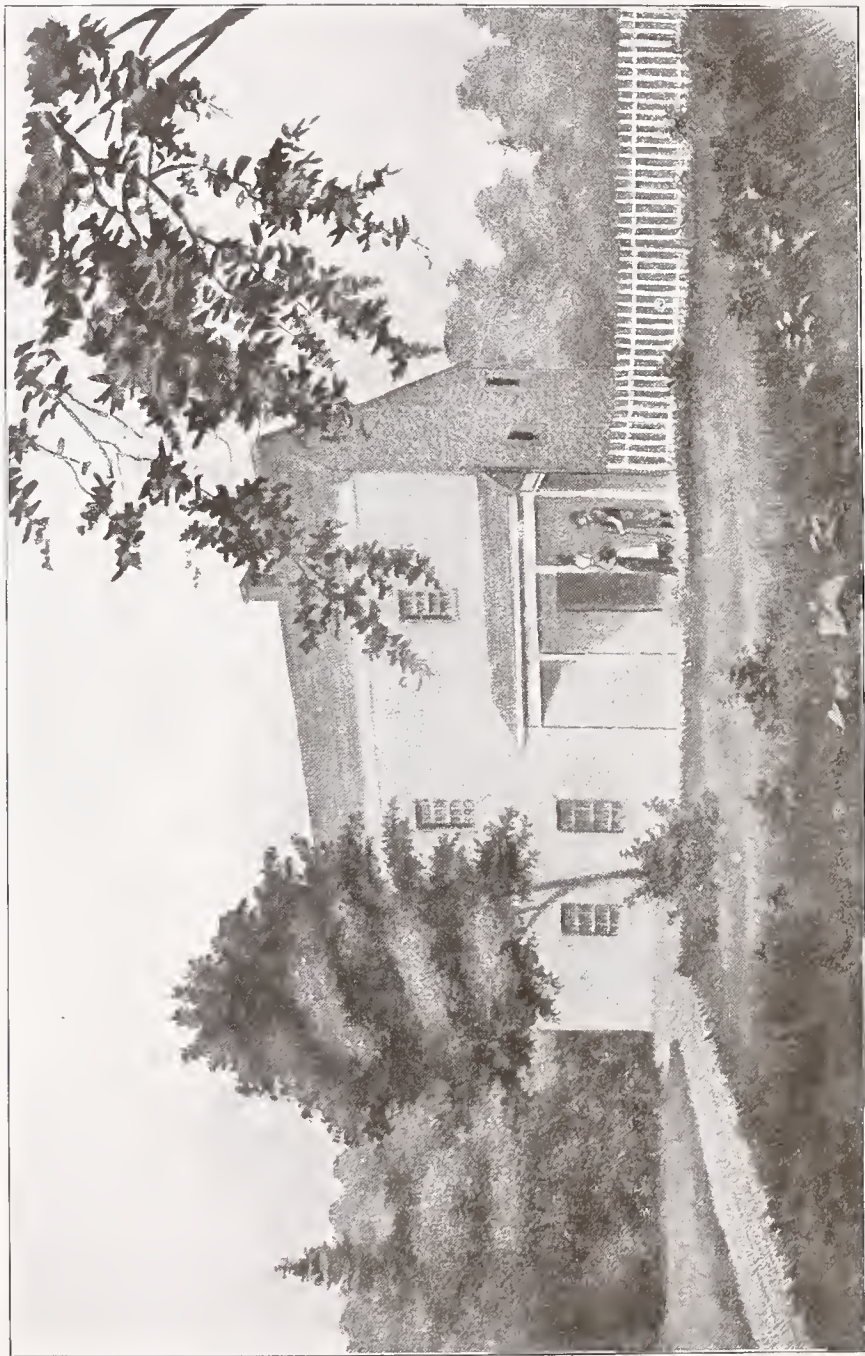
writer, "such a severe sickness in these parts—the like has not been known—that many families can neither fight nor run away, which occasions great distress on the frontiers. Had it not been for forty men, which the province has in pay in this township, little of the harvest could have been saved, and as the time for which they have been engaged is nearly elapsed, the inhabitants hope the government will continue them in the service, else the consequences will be dreadful."

On Monday, May 22, Barnabas Tolon was killed and scalped in Hanover Township, "and we are," says the editor of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, "well informed that one hundred and twenty-three persons have been murdered and carried off from that part of Lancaster (now Lebanon) County, by the Indians, since the war commenced, and that lately three have been scalped and are yet living."

On June 18, 1758, Squire Read writes to Edward Shippen that as Leonard Long was riding along the road, about a mile from Read's house, he was killed and scalped. Mr. Read, with some others, immediately went to the scene where they found the body lying in the road bleeding, but could not track the Indians.

On June 19, 1757, nineteen persons were killed in a mill on the Quittapahilla Creek, and, on September 9, 1757, one boy and a girl were taken from Donegal Township, a few miles south of Derry. About the same time, one Danner and his son, Christian, a lad of twelve years, had gone out into the Conewago hills to cut down trees; after felling one, and while the father was cutting a log, he was shot and scalped by an Indian, and Christian, the son, taken captive into Canada, where he remained until the close of the war, when he made his escape. Another young lad, named Steger, was surprised by three Indians

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THE BRIETENBACH HOUSE OF REFUGE.

and taken captive while cutting hoop-poles, but, fortunately, after remaining with the Indians some months, made his escape.

Jacob and Henry Boman, brothers, both young men, having been taken captive were tied in a secluded thicket by the Indians, who left, it is presumed, to go to the Conestoga Indians, intending to return, but, in the interim, a Mr. Shally, who was returning from Lancaster to Lebanon, chanced to pass, and, upon their calling him, released them, and they returned to their parents living near the present Palmyra.

In Jackson Township, near Stouchsburg, was the house of Benjamin Spycker, where the farmers, under Conrad Weiser, rendezvoused in 1755. A short distance from the present Myerstown was the home of Philip Breitenbach, also used as a house of refuge. Mr. Breitenbach was wont on many occasions of alarm, to take his drum and beat it on an eminence near his house, to collect his neighbors from work into the refuge. At one time the Indians pursued them close to the house when one of the inmates took up his gun and shot an Indian dead on the spot.

About one mile northeast from Millerstown the first public house, in this region of the country, was kept by the grandfather of Adam Ulrich, the occupant in 1844. Mr. Ulrich also kept a small store and traded with the Indians, many of whom staid weeks with him. Adam Ulrich's father, when a boy, frequently played with the Indians in the thickets. It appears there was a burying ground near Ulrich's house. One evening, about 1756-57, Adam Ulrich's father and grandfather were feeding the cattle when they were surprised by the Indians; they, fortunately, escaped and eluded their pursuit, whereupon the savages killed all the cattle by cutting out their tongues.



CHAPTER XXIV.

FORT HENRY.

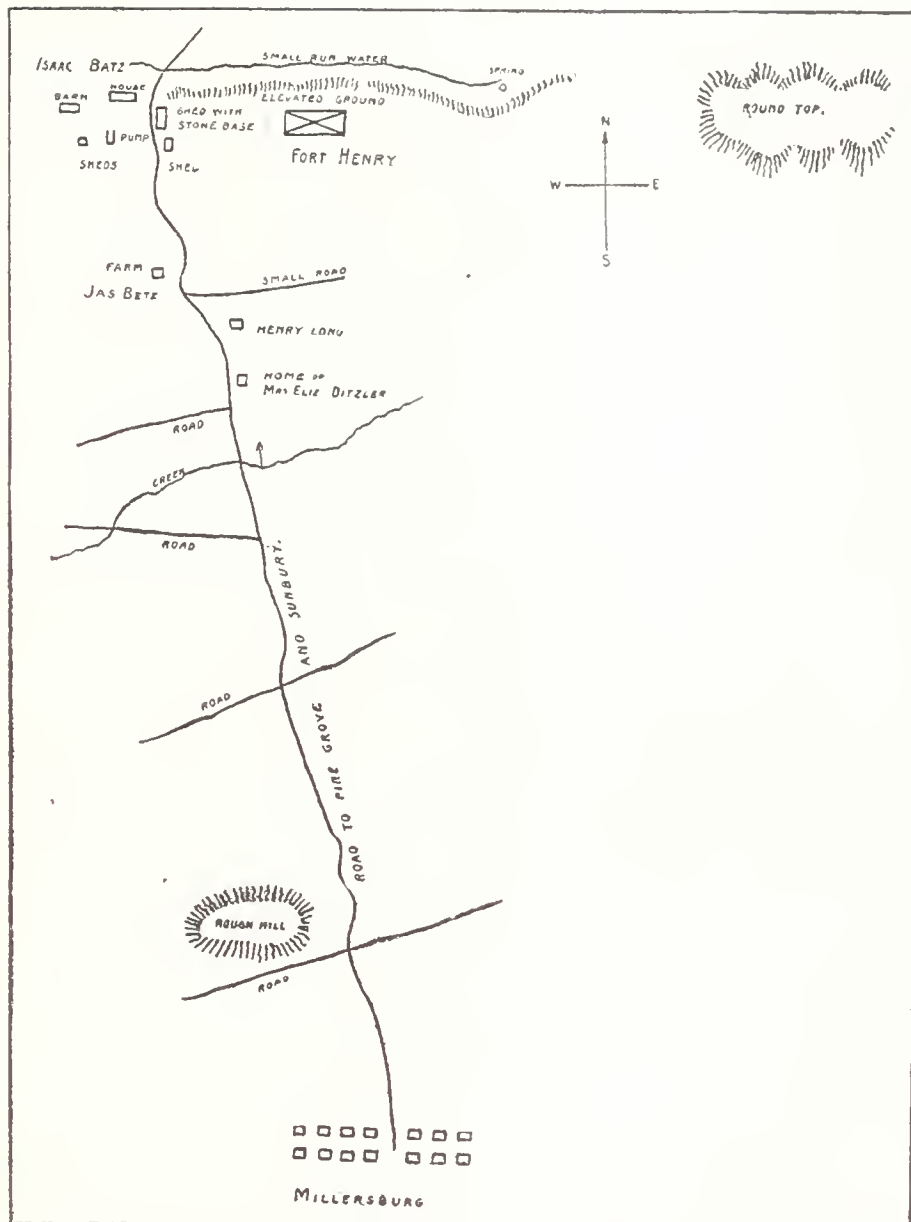


FORT HENRY.

ONE of the most prominent government defenses along the Blue Ridge was Fort Henry, also called, at times, in the early part of its history "Bussé's Fort," after its first commanding officer, "The Fort at Dietrich Six's," from its location, also "Fort Henry at Tolihaio,"

using the name "Tolihaio" in a general sense to apply to all the country in the vicinity of the Tolihaio, or Swatara Gap.

It will be remembered that, with the first terrible outbreak, or massacre, which found all in such an unprepared condition, the settlers established "a watch house" at "Dietrich's Six's Place under the Hill on Shamokin Road." It is probable this was the home of Dietrich Six. The



SITE OF FORT HENRY.

location was so excellent that the provincial government, upon taking charge of the defense, decided to build one of the larger forts on the spot.

This property was on the old Shamokin (Sunbury) Road, three miles north of Millersburg, in Bethel Township of Berks County. It was owned by Dietrich Six during the war and purchased from him by Frantz Umbenhauer, from whom it came into the possession of George Pott, and was lately owned by James Batz.

The fort stood in what is now a cultivated field, about twenty-five yards northeast from a shed, with stone base, standing by the roadside. It was on slightly elevated ground and commanded a splendid view of the approaches from the Blue Mountains, and of the valley to the west. At the foot of the elevated ground runs a little stream of water, originating at the spring back of the fort. Pieces of stone, belonging to the fort as well as pieces of common clay pipe stems and chips of flint are, even yet, occasionally ploughed up.

In the distant past various Indian villages must have been located in the neighborhood. We are told the fort stood "under the hill on Shamokin Road." This hill, called "Round Top Mountain," rises abruptly from the plain about one mile east of the fort. So abruptly does it rise that it is almost impossible to scale the side facing the defense. Those who have attempted it, however, have found, about half-way up, an artificial plateau, about forty by one hundred and fifty feet, formed by taking out stones from the hill behind. These stones seem to have been broken to a small size, and were entirely different from the rock composing the remainder of the mountain, being much harder and making somewhat of a ringing sound when knocked together. The fact is interesting

because it is altogether probable that it was a quarry from which the aborigines obtained their arrow and axe heads, if not the flints for their muskets. Of the shape of the fort we know nothing definite. In our generation it has been, at best, but a heap of ruins, but we are assured from them that it was more pretentious in size than usual. The only description of any kind, which has been secured, was from a Mr. Daniel Hostetter, of Springsville, who, if now living, would be some seventy years old. Even this is of a rather vague character. He says most of the stone belonging to the fort was taken by the farmers for building purposes, but, when he first saw it, the marks of the building were plain, and a portion of the wall remained. To him it seemed to be shaped like a half moon, and, in the center, was a house which evidently had a cellar underneath. The walls of the fort were about three feet thick and some two hundred feet long. Mr. Hostetter adds that he "never saw such a place in his life and doubts if there be any other like it in the State."

The first commanding officer of Fort Henry was Captain Christian Bussé, who, before the war, had been a doctor at Reading, Pa.

Notwithstanding the terrible depredations committed by the Indians, the officers in command of the troops made every effort to prevent them, and their unceasing vigilance is well worthy of commendation.

The following report of Colonel Weiser to Governor Morris, made in July, 1756, bears witness to this statement:

"Honoured Sir:

"Immediately after my Return from Philadelphia, I sent Orders to the Captains Bussé, Morgan and Smith,

to meet me at Fort Henry, on the 9th of this Instant, to consult together over certain measures, how to oppose the Enemy of Killing the People in Reaping and gathering in their Harvest. The Evening before, to witt, on the 8th of this Instant, Mr. Young arrived with your Honours Orders to me, I therefore set out next morning about 5 o'clock for Fort Henry, in Company with Mr. Young, as farr as Benjamin Spyckers. I arrived at Fort Henry by 10 o'clock. Capt. Bussé met me with an escort of eight men on Horse Back, about Six miles on this side of Fort Henry; about 12 o'clock the Captains Morgan and Smith arrived. I immediately made your Honours Orders known to them, and the following Deposition was made: That eight men of Capt. Smith's Company shall assist the People in the Hole (The place where twice Murder was committed) to gather in their harvest, and stay over Night in the Moravian House; Eight of his men to range westward of his Fort under the Hill, and if occasion require to be stationed in two Parties to guard the Reapers; Sixteen men are to be in and about the Fort to help and protect the neighbours, but constantly 10 out of the Sixteen are to stay in the Fort; Nine men are to stay constantly in Manity Fort, and Six men to range Eastward from Manity towards Swataro, and Six men to range westward towards Susquehannah; Each Party so farr that they may reach their Fort again before Night. Capt'n Bussé's Company stationed as follows: Ten men at Bernhard Tridels, next to the Moravians, Eight men at Casper Snebelies, Six men at Daniel Shue's or Peter Klop's. All these are westward of Fort Henry. Eastwards Capt. Bussé is to Post four men at Jacob Stein's, Three men at Ulrich Spies, Six men at the widow Kendal, the Rest, consisting of nineteen men, to remain in the Fort. Cap't Morgan's Company,

as follows: Six men to range from the little Fort on the Northkill westward to the Emericks, and stay there if the People unite to work together in their Harvest, Six men to range Eastward on the same footing, Eight men to stay in that Fort, fifteen men are to stay in Fort Lebanon, Eight men to protect the People over the Hill in harvest Time, Ten men to range constantly Eastward or Westward, and if the People return to their Plantations thereabouts, to protect those first that join together to do their work.

“All the aforesaid men are posted as much in a Range as was possible, and would sute the Settlement best.

“Your Honour will observe that there is not Men enough left in the Forts to change or relieve the Men on Duty, but scarce sufficient to Keep the Forts, and send Provisions to the several Posts.

“I did propose to the Captains to make a draft of about twenty-five men out of the three Companies, and send them over the hills to a certain Place on Kind Creek, to lie in Ambush there for the Enemy, for about Ten Days, but the large Frontier which they have to guard with their men, would not Admit of it at this Time, so I was therefore obliged to give over that Point.

“A great number of the Back Inhabitants came to the Fort that Day, and cried out for Guards. Their situation is indeed desperate. About forty men from Tulpenhacon have been out for their Protection, but they got soon tired, and rose Disputes and Quarrels in Order to get home again.

“I hear that the people over Susquehannah will have Protection, cost what it will; If they can't obtain it from the English, they will send to the French for it. I believe (by what I hear) that some on this Side of the River are

of the same opinion, at least there is such a Mumbling among the back Inhabitants.

“I must mention to your Honour that when the People about Swatara and the Hole heard of Capt. Smith’s being accused for neglect of Duty, they wrote a Letter to me in his Favour, which I send by Sammy Weiser, who can translate it if your Honour orders him to do it. I also send a Letter from Capt. Bussé, which contains the Particulars of the last murder. I received it by the way coming from Philad’a, and stopt the Express (as it was only to me) in Order to save Changes.

“As I had no Clerk for some time I wrote a General Letter yesterday to all the Commanding Officers Eastward from Fort Henry to Easton, with a Copy of your Honours orders inclosed. I could not send every one a Copy, but ordered them to take it themselves and send it forward immediately.

“Just this moment my Son Sammy arrived from Fort Henry, and tells me that there had been an Engagement at Caghnckackeeky, wherein twelve on our side were Killed, and Six Indians; That our People Kept the Field and scalped the Indians, and that the Indians ran off without any Scalp. As bad news as it is, I wish it may be true.

“I have at Present no more to trouble your Honour with, But Remain,

“Sir,

“Your very obedient and

“humble Servant,

“CONRAD WEISER.

“Heidleberg, in the County of Berks.

“July the 11th, 1756.

“P. S.—I should have told your Honour that I keep a Serjeant, with nine private men of my Company at Fort

Henry, under Capt. Bussé, with that Proviso that they shall stay in the fort, and defend it when the Capt's men are on their several posts or Ranging; the Capt'n must Keep a Ranging party all along; tomorrow another Serjeant marches from Reading with nine men, to relieve those of my Company that have been out two weeks."

In June, 1757, Fort Henry was honored by a visit from Governor Denny, under peculiar circumstances. The Government had been notified of a threatened attack, in force, on Fort Augusta, at Shamokin, just at a time when the terms of enlistment of the troops, composing its garrison, had expired. No persuasion could induce more than forty men to reënlist. In the emergency it became necessary to order immediately three companies from Colonel Weiser's regiment to the scene of action, while the Governor, in person, hastened from Lancaster into the County of Berks to encourage the raising of these one hundred and fifty-nine men. When he came there he found men enough but met with an unexpected obstacle. The country people, supported by their magistrates, and the leading men of the County, refused to serve under the provincial officers but insisted upon choosing their own. This, it seems, was put into their heads at Lancaster by some of the Commissioners and Assemblymen, and was but an echo of the strife between the Executive and the Assembly. Concerning the matter the Governor writes:

"Intending to go to Fort Henry, the only Garrison my Time would allow me to visit, I desired Col. Weiser to acquaint the Leaders of these infatuated People, that I shou'd be glad they would come and speak with me at the Fort. Accordingly, about Fifty substantial Freeholders, well mounted and armed, joined the Escort, & attended

me to Fort Henry, where I had an opportunity of undeceiving them. Convinced of their Error, they presented me a very respectful address, assuring me of their Desire to have a proper Militia Law, and that they were determined under such a Law to serve and do their duty to their king and Country. Forty instantly were inlisted by Colonel Weiser out of this neighborhood, and a magistrate about twenty miles off wrote me he had inlisted forty more."

The withdrawal of these companies from a battalion already too weak in numbers for the onerous duties required of it, left Colonel Weiser in a woeful plight. It is a matter of no surprise, therefore, to read the following plea from him to the Governor, under date of October 1, 1757:

"I humbly intreat your Honour to pity our Cause and give orders that the men belonging to the first Battalion of Pennsil'a Regiment, now at Fort Augusta, may all return to their proper or former Stations. When this present trouble is over I will very gladly send a reinforcement again either to Fort Augusta or wherever your honour pleases. It is certain that the enemy is numerous on our Frontiers, and the people are coming away very fast, so that the Forts are left to themselves with the men in them, but no more neighbours about them."

So urgent is the matter that, three days later, Colonel Weiser writes to Mr. Peters, the Governor's Secretary:

"*Sir*: I did not think on the Post till he entered my doors, else I would have wrote particularly to the Governor, tho' I have been very Buisy with writing to the Commanding officers of the several forts under my care. It

is now Come so farr that murder is comited Allmost every day; there never was such a Consternation among the people, they must now leave their houses again, with their Barns full of Grain; five children have been carried off last Friday, some days before a sick man killed upon his bed, begged of the Enemy to shoot him through his heart which the Indian answered, I will, and did so. A girl, that had hid herself under a Bedstead, in the next room, heard all this, two more families were about that time destroyed. Inclosed is the Journal of last month of my Ensign at North Kill. Capt. Bussey lies dangerously sick at John Harris. I hear he is tired of everything; I have neither men nor a sufficient n^r of officers to defend the Country. If his Honour would be pleased to send me orders for to recall all the men belonging to my Battalion, from Fort Augusta, he would justly bring upon him the blessing of the most high. I can not say no more. I think meselfe unhappy, to fly with my family in this time of danger I can't do. I must stay, if they all go. I am now preparing to go to fort Henry, where I shall meet some officers to consult with, what may be best to be done. I have ordered ten men, with the Governor's last orders, to fort Augusta; I shall overtake them this Evening at Fort Henry and give them proper instruction. For God's sake, dear Sire, beg of the Governor, press it upon him in my behalf, and in behalf of this distrest inhabitants, to order my men back from fort Augusta. I will give my reason afterwards, that I am in the right. I conclude with my humble respects to his Honour,

“And remain, Kind Sir,

“Your most humble servant,

“CONRAD WEISER.”

It is the letter of a man over-burdened in mind and body, and who certainly deserves our sympathy. It is a satisfaction to know that, on November 8, orders were sent by the Governor for the return of Capt. Bussé's detachment to their former station.

The sole instance, on record, of the participation of any Frenchman in the attacks along the Blue Range, occurred at Fort Henry. On October 12, 1757, the sentry was surprised to see what appeared to be a French deserter, or spy, approach the fort. An officer and two soldiers were immediately sent out to seize him and bring him into the enclosure. His name was found to be Michael La Chauviguerie, Jun., and his age seventeen. His father was a lieutenant of French Marines and commandant of Fort Machault, just building, some seventy-two leagues up the Allegheny River from Fort Du Quesne, and near the Lakes. The son had been given command of a party of thirty-three Indians, principally Delawares, who were sent out on a marauding expedition. As they neared the Blue Mountains he told the sad tale of prisoners taken and numerous deserted homesteads. One day, by accident, he dropped a piece of bread, and, while looking for it, his party of Indians became separated from him, and he found that he was lost. After wandering around for seven days he was forced to surrender at Fort Henry to save himself from starvation.

On February 21, 1758, James Burd arrived at Fort Henry, on his tour of inspection, where he found Capt. Lieut. Weiser, Adjutant Kern, and Ensigns Biddle and Craighead, doing duty with ninety men, whom he reviewed and found to be "under good command & fine fellows." Of the fort he says, "This is a very good Stockade Fort, & everything in good order, & duty done pritty well."

On June 19, 1758, Captain Bussé notified Colonel Weiser that, at 8 A. M. of that day, the Indians took and carried away the wife of John Frantz, with three children, from their home on the Little Swatara Creek, about six miles distant from the fort.

In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of Decmber 18, 1755, it says:

“We hear from Reading, in Berks County, that on Sunday last, about nine o'clock at night, the guard belonging to that County, about seventeen mile from that town, were attacked by some Indians, with whom they exchanged several fires, and put them to flight; that none of the guard were wounded, though one of them had the skirt of his jacket shot away, and that they supposed some of the Indians were badly burnt, as they heard a crying among them as they ran off; but that the guard, having spent their ammunition, could not pursue them.”

On March 7, 1756, Andrew Lycan, who lived over the mountain, twenty-five miles below Sunbury, at or near the Wiskinisco Creek, was attacked by Indians. He had with him a son, John Lycan, a negro man, a boy and two of his neighbors, John Revolt and Ludwig Shut. As Andrew Lycan and John Revolt went out early that morning to feed the animals, two guns were fired at them, but they escaped unhurt, ran to the house and prepared for an engagement. The Indians then got under cover of a log house near the dwelling, whereupon John Lycan, Revolt and Shut crept out to get a shot at them, but were fired at by the Indians instead, and all wounded, Shut being hit in the abdomen. Andrew Lycan then noticed one of the Indians, and two white men, run out of the log house and get a little distance from it. Upon this the inmates of the

house endeavored to escape, but were immediately pursued by the Indians, to the number of sixteen or more. John Lycan and Revolt, being badly wounded, were able to do nothing, and so went off with the negro, leaving Andrew Lycan, Shut, and the boy, engaged with the enemy, who pursued so closely that one of them came up with the boy, and was about to tomahawk him when Shut turned and shot him dead. At the same time Lycan shot another, whom he is positive was killed, saw a third fall and thinks others were wounded by them. Being now both badly wounded, and almost exhausted, they sat down on a log to rest themselves, while the Indians stood a little way off, looking at them.

One of the Indians killed was Bill Davis, and two others they knew to be Tom Hickman and Tom Hayes, all Delawares and well known in those parts. All of the farmers escaped through Swatara Gap into Hanover Township, and recovered under the care of a doctor, but lost all they were worth.

The *Gazette* of June 24, 1756, says:

“We have advice from Fort Henry, in Berks County (Bethel Township), that two children of one Lawrence Dieppel, who lives about two miles from said fort, are missing, and thought to be carried off by the Indians, as one of their hats has been found, and several Indian tracks seen.”

In relation to this affair the editor adds, on July 1 :

“We learn that one of Lawrence Dieppel’s children, mentioned in our last to be carried off, has been found cruelly murdered and scalped, a boy about four years, and that the other, also a boy, eight years old, was still missing.”

On November 19, 1756, Colonel Weiser writes to Governor Denny that the Indians had made another incursion

into Berks County, killed and scalped two married women and a lad fourteen years of age, wounded two children of about four years of age, and carried off two more. One of the wounded was scalped and likely to die, and the other had two cuts on her forehead, given by an Indian who had attempted to scalp her but did not succeed. There were eight men of Fort Henry, posted in different neighbor's houses, about one mile and a half off, who, when they heard the noise of the guns firing, immediately went towards it but came too late.

Again, in its issue of July, 1757, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* gives this extract from a letter dated, Heidelberg, July 9:

"Yesterday, about three o'clock in the afternoon, between Valentine Herchelroar's and Tobias Bickell's, four Indians killed two children; one of about four years, the other five; they at the same time scalped a young woman of about sixteen; but, with proper care, she is likely to live and do well.

"A woman was terribly cut with the tomahawk, but not scalped, her life is despaired of. Three children were carried off prisoners. One Christian Schrenk's wife, being among the rest, bravely defended herself and her children, for a while; wresting the gun out of the Indian's hands, who assaulted her, also his tomahawk, and threw them away; and afterwards was obliged to save her own life—two of her children were taken captive in the meantime. In this house were also twenty women and children, who had fled from their own habitations, to take shelter; the men belonging to them were about one-half mile off, picking cherries—they came as quick as possible and went in pursuit of the Indians, but to no purpose, the Indians had concealed themselves."

In August, 1757, people were murdered by the Indians in Bern Township, and others carried off. At Tulpehocken a man named Lebenguth, and his wife, were killed and scalped.

On September 9, 1763, a letter from Reading says:

"A few of the Rangers who had encamped in Berks County, were apprized of the approach of Indians by their outscouts; the Indians advanced cautiously to take them by surprise; when near, with savage yells they rushed forward, but the Rangers, springing on their feet, shot three in front; the rest fled into a thicket and escaped. The Indians were armed with guns and provided with ammunition. These Indians, it is supposed by some, had been on their way from the Moravian Indians, in Northampton County, to the Big Island. Runners were sent to the different parties of Rangers with the information, and others sent in pursuit of those who fled."

On September 10, 1763, five Indians entered the house of Philip Martloff, in Berks County, at the base of the Blue Mountains, murdered and scalped his wife, two sons and two daughters, burnt the house and barn, the stacks of hay and grain, and destroyed everything of any value. Martloff was absent from home, and one daughter escaped at the time of the murder by running and secreting herself in a thicket. The father and daughter were left in abject misery.

A brief mention has already been made of the Frantz family, in Bethel Township. The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, of June, 1758, gives a more detailed account of the case, which, substantially, agrees with the traditional facts related to the present writer by a descendant. It says:

“At the time this murder was committed, Mr. Frantz was out at work; his neighbours having heard the firing of guns by the Indians immediately repaired to the house of Frantz; on their way they apprized him of the report—when they arrived at the house they found Mrs. Frantz dead (having been killed by the Indians because she was rather infirm and sickly, and so unable to travel), and all the children gone; they then pursued the Indians some distance, but all in vain. The children were taken and kept captives for several years.

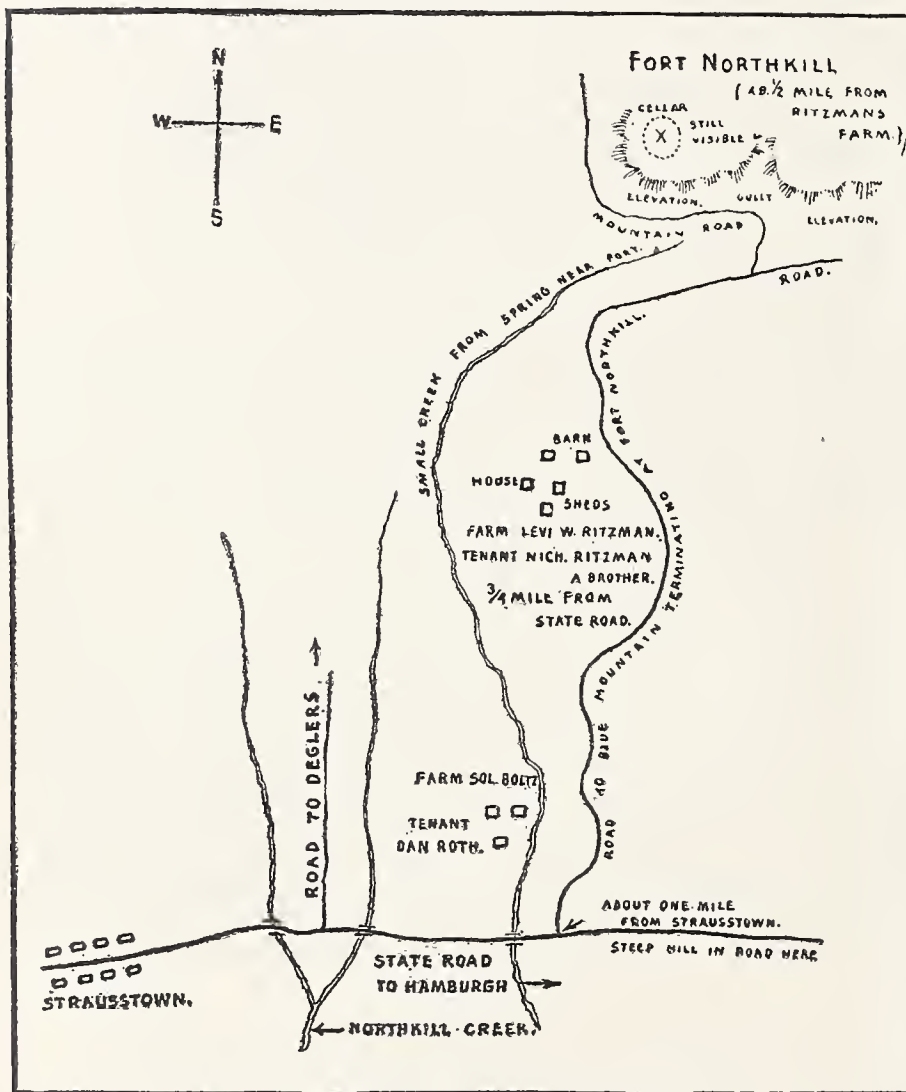
“A few years after this horrible affair, all of them, except one, the youngest, were exchanged. The oldest of them, a lad of twelve or thirteen years of age, at the time when captured, related the tragical scene of his mother being tomahawked and shamefully treated. Him they compelled to carry the youngest.

“The anxious father, having received two of his children as from the dead, still sighed for the one that was not. Whenever he heard of children being exchanged he mounted his horse to see whether, among the captured, was not his dear little one. On one occasion he paid a man forty pounds to restore his child, who had reported that he knew where it was. To another he paid a hundred dollars, and himself went to Canada in search of the lost one—but to his sorrow, never could trace his child. A parent can realize his feelings—they cannot be described.”

FORT NORTHKILL.

On January 25, 1756, Captain Jacob Morgan, in command at Fort Lebanon, near the present town of Auburn, was ordered to leave twenty men at his fort, and, with the remaining thirty of his company, proceed to some convenient point about half-way between his fort and Fort

Henry "there to erect a stoccade of about 400 foot square, where he is to leave 20 men, under a Commiss'd officer



SITE OF FORT NORTHKILL.

and to return to Fort Lebanon, which he is to make his Headquarters and from that stoccade & from Fort Leb-

anon, his men are to Range and scour the woods both eastward and westward."

In choosing the ground he was directed to take care that there was no hill near it, which would overlook or command it, from whence an enemy might annoy the garrison, and also to see that there was a spring, or running stream of water, either inside of the fort or, at least, within command of their guns.

It is apparent that this defense was built merely to occupy the long gap between Forts Henry and Lebanon. Its site is about two miles distant from Strausstown, in Upper Tulpehocken Township, Berks County, and about half a mile from one of the branches of the Northkill Creek, from which it derives its name. It stood directly at the base of the mountains, and, even now, is still on the edge of the woodland. Its position, however, was good. It was but a short distance from the main State Road, and on slightly elevated ground, which gave it a full view of the cultivated valley lying all around it. A small stream of water, emanating from a spring, was close to it. At the time of the Indian troubles, as now, the land was cultivated almost up to the fort, but, even now, as then, its site stands on the edge of waste mountain land, and it is owing to its undisturbed condition that some trace of it can still be seen. This remnant is its cellar, which is still visible, although now nearly drifted full of forest leaves.

It was but a single block house, surrounded by the usual stockade. Not very extensive, and hastily constructed, it was never intended for more than a station, which it was necessary to maintain between the two large forts. In the summer of 1757 preparations were made for the erection of a more substantial place of defense, but it is doubtful whether this latter was ever constructed, for, in

the beginning of March, 1758, the stockade was already abandoned. It was distant eleven miles from Fort Henry, to the west, and equally distant from Fort Lebanon, on the east.

Commissary James Young, when making his tour of inspection, in 1756, has this to say of its shape and appearance :

“ June 20th, at 2 P. M., I sett out from Reading, Escorted by 5 men of the town, on horseback, for the Fort at Northkill; at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6, we came to the Fort, it is ab't 19 miles from Reading, the Road very hilly and thick of wood; the Fort is ab't 9 miles to the westw'd of Schuylkill, and Stand in a very thick Wood, on a small Rising Ground, half a mile from the middle Northkill Creek; it is intended for a square ab't 32 ft. Each way, at Each Corner is a half Bastin, of very little Service to Flank the Curtains, the Stoccadés are very ill fixed in the Ground, and open in many Places; within is a very bad Logg house for the people, it has no chimney, and can afford but little shelter in bad weather; when I came here, the Serjant who is Commander, was absent and gone to the next plantation, half a mile off, but soon came, when he had intelligence I was there; he told me he had 14 men Posted with him, all Detached from Capt. Morgan's Comp'y, at Fort Lebanon, 5 of them were absent by his leave, Vist. two he had let go to Reading for three days, one he had let go to his Own house, 10 miles off, and two more this afternoon, a few miles from the Fort, on their own business; there was but Eight men and the Serjant on Duty. I am of opinion there ought to be a Commission'd Officer here, as the Serjant does not do his Duty, nor are the men under proper Command for want of a more Superior Officer; the woods are not Clear'd above 40 Yards from the Fort; I gave

orders to Cut all down for 200 y'ds; I inquired the reason there was so little Powder & Lead here, the Serjeant told me he had repeatedly requested more of Capt. Morgan, but to no purpose. Provisions here, Flower and Rum for 4 weeks; Mr. Seely, of Reading, sends the officer money to purchase meal as they want it.—Provincial Arms and Ammun'tn at North Kill Fort, vizt: 8 G'd muskets, 4 Rounds of Powder & Lead, pr man, 15 Blankets, 3 axes."

The next day he left for Fort Lebanon, and, upon his arrival there, informed Captain Morgan that the sergeant in command at Northkill was derelict in duty and requested him to send a commissioned officer to relieve him, whereupon a lieutenant was detailed for that purpose, and started for the post, accompanied by two additional men, taking with them four pounds of powder and ten pounds of lead.

On November 3, 1756, Lieutenant Humphreys, in command, had quite a thrilling encounter with the enemy, which he thus relates:

"THURSDAY, Nov. 4th, 1756.

"FORT ABOVE THE NORTHKILL.

"May it please the Colonel:

"Yesterday we were alarmed by a number of Indians, who came and took a child away. Immediately upon hearing the News, I, with nine men, went in Pursuit of 'em, leaving a Number of Farmers to guard the Fort 'till we should return. But we found nothing 'till this morning, we went out again; and, in our Return to the Fort, we were apprized of 'em by the firing of several Guns; when I ordered my men to make what speed they could. We ran till we were almost out of Breath, and, upon finding Nicholas Long's House attack'd by the Indians, the Farmers, who were with us to the Number of Twenty, deserted and fled, leaving the Soldiers to Fight. We stood in Battle

with 'em for several minutes 'till there was about Sixty Guns discharged and, at length, we put the Indians to Flight.

"We have one man wounded, and my Coat was shot through in four Places. The Number of the Indians was twenty. Our Number at first was twenty-four, But they all deserted and fled except seven. Two old men were killed before we came, one of whom was Scalped. Ten women & children were in the Cellar and the House was on Fire; But we extinguished it and brought the women and Children to the Fort. I desire the Colonel to send me a Reinforcement; for the men solemnly say they will not go out with the Farmers, as they deserted in the Battle and never fired a gun. The Indians cryed the Halloo during the Battle.

"We have one of their Guns and a Blanket, which had two Holes with a Bullet in, and is Bloody. The Indians had all red Hats and red Blankets.

"Sir,

"This in Distress (wanting

"Reinforcement) from

"Yours to command

"SAMUEL HUMPHREYS.

"May it please the Colonel to send by the Bearer, Adam Hayerling, as much Powder and Lead as you can spare."

It is gratifying to know that Lieutenant Humphreys received at least a fair amount of credit for his gallant action. James Read, Esq., in writing, November 7, to Governor Denny, observes that, "By concurrent accounts from several Persons, whose character will not suffer me to doubt what they tell me, I am persuaded that Mr. Humphreys behav'd in a most laudable manner, and mani-

fested that calm courage and Presence of mind which will ever gain an Advantage over superior numbers, whose Leader is too precipitate and void of Discretion." Immediately upon receipt of this the Governor directed Captain Morgan to "thank Lieutenant Humphreys and the men under him, on my part, for ye gallant Behavior in the later action ag't the Indians."

After Lieutenant Humphreys the command of the fort devolved upon Ensign Harry. He, in turn, was relieved by an officer, whose name unfortunately is not given, but whose journal has been preserved, a copy of which here follows:

"A JOURNAL OF FORT NORTHKILL—1757

"June 13. Received Orders from Lieutant Colonel Weiser, to march from Reading with all the Company remaining there, (the rest being commanded to Fort Augustus). Accordingly I sat out from Reading by Break of Day, on the 14th. Arrived at Lt. Coll. Weiser's where I rec'd Orders to march with the Company or Detachm't, to Fort Henry, and from there take a Detachm't of 20 Men, & continue 'till to Fort in Northkill. Accordingly on the

"15th. In the morning took the said 20 men from Fort Henry of the New Levies and marched strait Way to the said Fort accompanied with Capt^{ns} Bussé and Capt^{ns} Smith, as soon as I arrived I gave Ensign Harry (then Commander of said Fort) Notice of my Orders, and Sent off two men immediately to the colonels with a Report of the condition I found the fort in, & sent him a List of the new Levies who were detached from Captain Bussé's Fort with me to this Fort.

"16th. Capt^{ns} Bussé & Smith sat off ab't 10 o'clock with

a Scout of 10 men, which Captⁿ Bussé had ordered from his Company on the 15th. And Ensign Harry march'd out of the fort ab^t 12 o'clock, (after delivering it to me), with his Men to Fort Lebanon, according to Orders. Provisions I found in the fort as follows, 5lb Powder, 198 lb Flower, 10 Small Barrs of Lead, 15 lb of Beef and Pork, 3 ½ lb Candles.

"17. I, with a Corporal & 20 Men, according to Orders from L^t Col^l Weiser, went a scouting & ranging the Woods till to Fort Lebanon, where We arrived ab^t 2 O'clock in the Afternoon. We staid there all Night, being not able to scout any further, or return home because of a heavy Rain.

"18. Sat off from Fort Lebanon in the morning being rainy Weather, and ranged the Woods coming back, as before, with the same number of men, & arrived at Fort on Northkill about 4 O'clock in the afternoon.

"19. Gave Orders to Serj^t Pet^r Smith to Scout to Fort Lebanon & to bring me Report the next Day of his Proceedings. Accordingly He arrived on the 20th ab^t 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and made Report that He had done according to his Orders, and that He had made no Discoveries. Rec'd a Letter by him from Captⁿ Morgan, informing me that He had no News, &c.

"21. Sent off Corporal Shafer to scout as before.

"22d. Minister Shumaker came & preach'd a Sermon to the Company. The scout arrived from Fort Lebanon. The Corporal reported that Nothing strange had come to his knowledge. A Scout of Captⁿ Bussé's arrived about 11 o'clock, and ret^d ab^t 4 towards their fort, but upon the Indian Alarms they immediately ret^d back to my fort and gave me Notice: In the midst of the Rain, & sent on the first Notice, Serj^t Smith, with 18 men, and ordered them to divide themselves in two Parties.

“ June 23^d. Serj^t Smith ret^d and made Report that he arrived at Dietz’s House about 10 o’clock in the Night, where they heard a Gun go off at Jacon Smith’s about a mile from there. They immediately sat off again for said Smith’s toward the Place where the Gun went off, and Surrounded the House (according to my Orders). They searched all the House but found no marks of Indians. From there they marched to Falks House in the Gap, and surrounded it, but found no Indians. From there they went to the Mountain, and arrived there 2 o’clock in the morning, where Serj^t Smith according to Orders, Waylay the Road in two Parties, and as soon as it was Day went back and buried the man that was killed, to wit, Peter Geisinger, who was shot, and killed the Day before. At Burying him, they heard 5 Guns go off ab^t 2 miles from said Place, whereupon Sej^t Smith Immediately repaired to the Place, & divided themselves in two Parties, (I had sent off Corporal Sheffer with 8 men on the 22^d to their assistance.) Sej^t Smith also makes Report that this Morning at 7 o’clock a Girl ab^t 15 years, Daughter of Balser Schmidt, was taken Prisoner, by two Indians, whose Tracks they saw and followed, but to no Purpose. A Party of Captⁿ Bussé’s Company went along from this and remained with my men all the Time. 15 or 16 of the Inhabitants came to me and apply’d for assistance. I ordered out several Detachm^{ts} to assist them.

“ 24. I sat off with 20 men from this to Captⁿ Bussé’s Fort along the mountain, & called at the Place where the Murder was committed. Went up as far as the Gap of the Mountain, but as I found no Tracts there, I thought the Indians would be on this Side the mountains, therefore I went up along the mountains without opposition, till to Captⁿ Bussé’s Fort, and as it rained very hard all Day and We went far about, We arrived there towards the Evening.

“25. Sat off in the morning with the same number of men, and scouted the Woods back near the same Way back again, and arrived towards Evening in the fort, being rainy Weather.

“26. Rec'd in the morning a Letter, for my positive Orders not to neglect my scouting towards Fort Lebanon, accordingly immediately called in my Detachm^{ts}. This afternoon a Woman living ab^t 1 ½ miles from here, came to the fort, and said she had seen an Indian just now in her Field, almost naked, & had a Gun, but said she did not stay to look long. I immediately sent off Serj^t Smith with 2 Parties, consisting of ab^t 20 men. They searched the Place, and found nothing, but saw 2 Barefeet Tracks. They divided into small Parties, & Scoured the Woods till Evening & then ret^d to the Fort, and as I had to Day but men sufficient to guard the fort, I sent out no scout. This evening Intelligence came to me from the Colonels, informing me that He had notice from Captⁿ Orndt of 15 Indians going to fall on this Settlement or hereabouts. He ordered me therefore immediately to Send Notice thereof to Captⁿ Bussé's Fort, in order that it might be from there conveyed to Fort Swatara, accordingly I did.

“June 27. Gave Orders to Serj^t Smith to go scouting the Woods between this and fort Lebanon, and if Captⁿ Morgan thought that it was serviceable, to range some Way up Schuylkill, (as that Gap is their common Rendezvous).

“28. A scout of Captⁿ Bussé arrived in the Forenoon, & sat off again this afternoon.

“29. In the Evening there came two men to the Fort, and reported that the Indians had invaded about 6 miles from this, ab^t 9 o'clock this morning, I was somewhat concerned that I had no sooner Intelligence of it, however I immediately sent off 12 men under 2 Corporals.

“30. About noon the 2 Corporals returned and made the following report. That Yesterday he could not reach the Place as they were tired, but staid at a House till nigh Break of Day, and then sat off again. He did not immediately go to the Place when the man &c. were killed, but went somewhat further down towards Schuylkill, thinking that the Indians had invaded lower down, but as it was not so, He took another Rout, towards the Place where the murder was committed and as he came there, he found the Man's Wife, (Fred. Myers) who had been at a Plough, and shot thro' both her Breasts, & was scalped. After that he went to look for the Man, whom they found dead & scalped some Way in the Woods. They took a Ladder & carried him to his Wife, where the Neighbor's came, and helped to bury them, after which they went towards the mountain, and scouted along the same & arrived here about 4 o'clock in the afternoon. It is reported by the Farmer's who saw the deceased shot while before, that he was mowing in the Meadow, and that his Children were about him, which makes them Believe that the Man, after he heard the Shot (which killed his Wife) he went to run off with only the youngest Child in his Arms, as the Man was Shot thro' the body, and the Child is $1\frac{1}{2}$ year of Age and is scalped, but yet alive, and is put to a Doctors. The other three, who were with their Father, are taken Prisoners; One of them is a Boy ab^t 10 years old, the other a Girl of 8 years, & the other a Boy of 6 years. There was a Baby, whom they found in a Ditch, that the water was just to its Mouth. It was laying on its Back crying. It was taken up, and is like to do well. A Boy of one Reichard, of Eight years, was taken Prisoner at the same time. This was all done within half an Hour, as some Neighbours had been there in that Space of Time.

“ July 1. Serjt Pet^r Smith ret^d with the Scout, and reported that when he came to Ft Lebanon, Captⁿ Morgan sent a Detachm^t under Ensign Harry to the Gap of the Schuylkill. And that on the 28th last past, they ascended the Mountains, and when they came on the other Side, they found an encamping Place of the Indians, which, after Ensign Harry had surrounded with his Party, he sent off Serjt Smith with another Party to lay in ambush on the Indian Path all Night, but as nothing was to be heard of the Indians, they met again the next Day; The Indians, as he supposes, having left that Place the Day before. However, they found 2 Match Coats, one Spear, one Scalping Knife, some Virmilion, and 800 Blank Wampum, also great variety of Salves. The 29th they yet lay in Ambush in several Parties, but all to no Purpose. The Indians having, without Doubt, discovered them, in Case any was thereabouts. The 30th they sat off for the Hills, and arrived within a few Miles of this fort. And the 1 July, they arrived Accordingly in the Fort.

“ July 2. Being rainy Weather I sent no Scout, but put the Men to work to repair the Stoccadoes.

“ 3. Early in the Morning my Men were all gathered, & I ordered a Corporal to Scout with a Party to Fort Lebanon, & return part of the Way and encamp in the Woods upon a rising Ground that He might the easier discover a fire.

“ 4. In the Morning a Scout of Captain Bussé’s arrived & returned again in the Afternoon. The Scout from Fort Lebanon returned & the Corporal made Report, that he had ranged as directed but had made no Discoveries.

“ 5. Being a very rainy Day, could send no Scout.

“ 6. Sent Serjt Smith on a Scout to range on this Side the Mountains, towards Schuylkill.

“7. A Scout of Captⁿ Bussé's arrived & set off again directly. In the afternoon my Scout ret^d, but had no News. It rained hard, they lay in a House about 12 Miles from here.

“8. Being appointed by his Honour the Govern^r a Day of Fast, I sent no Scout, but had a Sermon read in the fort, where numbers of the Neighbours had assembled. A Scout of Captⁿ Bussé's arrived & ret^d directly.

“9. Sent off Corp^l Shefer with a Scout to Fort Lebanon, who ret^d on the

“10. But brought on Intelligence. I rec'd Orders to repair to Reading, where I arrived this afternoon.

“11. Returned again into the Fort, where Serj^t Smith informed me a Scout of Capⁿ Bussé's had arrived at the fort & ret^d. That he had ranged the Gap about 2 Miles from this, and had been over the Mountains, but had discovered nothing.

“12. A Scout of Captⁿ Bussé's arrived & ret^d Immediately. Sent a Corporal and a Scout to Range to Fort Lebanon.

“13th. My Scout from Fort Lebanon returned. The Corporal reported he had ranged as ordered, but had no Discoveries.

“14. Captⁿ Bussé arrived this morning with a Party of Captⁿ Smith's and his own, to the Number of ab^t 28. I gave him 15 of my Men, in order to escort the Treaty at Easton.

“July 15. It being a rainy Day I sent no Scout.

“16. Continuing rainy Weather, I could send no Scout. In the Evening repaired some Stoccadoes, the Rain having held up.

“17. The Water being high & the Bushes wet, I could send no Scout to Day. A Scout of Captⁿ Bussé's arrived, there being no Water between his & this fort.

"18. Sent a Scout along the Mountains. They arrived in the Evening & had no Intellig^{ce}.

"19. A Scout of Captⁿ Bussé's arrived and ret^d directly. Sent Serj^t Smith with a Scout to Fort Lebanon.

"20. Serj^t Smith ret^d & reported that he had been at Fort Lebanon & ret^d some Part of the Way & laid in the Woods, but had made no fire. They made no Discovery. A Scout of Captⁿ Bussé's arrived and ret^d instantly.

"21. Having laid out Part of my Men to protect the Farmer's & the Rest fatigued with Yesterday's Scout, I could send none to Day.

"22. Sent a Scout along the Mountain who ret^d without Discovering any Thing.

"July 23^d. I went Scouting with a Party over the Mountains, and as it was very warm, I ordered the Men about Noon to rest themselves a Couple of Hours when We were over the Mountains, I then ordered them to march, and as We came to Schuylkill, I saw it was too high for the Men to wade through. I then got Horses, & towards Evening We got over Schuylkill. We arrived at Fort Lebanon towards Night, & was obliged to stay there that Night.

"24th. Returned, and as soon as We came over on this Side of the Mountains (it being yet early in the Day) I took quite another Rout thro' the Woods, but made no Discovery, so We arrived at the Fort in the Evening. I had not been there one half an Hour bef^r three Farmers came and informed me that this Morning the Indians had taken a Boy of about 14 Years Prisoner, but had done no other Damage. I immediately sent off a party, but as it happened, the Boy being taken Prisoner in the Morning, Night came on before my Men could get there.

"25. In the Morning I hear the Boy had escaped, and

that he made Report that there were 4 white Men & 4 Indians with him, & that At Night he escaped, they had tied him and he was obliged to lay between them, but as they all got drunk, and fast asleep, he untied himself and ran off. He further says that when he was taken Prisoner he made a noise, and that they struck him & told him to be silent. I imagine they saw me with my Men go over the Day bef^r yesterday. The Indians were this Night ab^t the fort, but it was very dark, therf^r I did not sally out.

“26. This Morning sent out Serj^t Smith, with 5 Men to search ab^t the fort for Tracks, but he only found one which was in a muddy Place. But it being nothing but Stones, He could not follow the Tracts. It rained all Day very hard, therf^r I could send no Scout.

“July 27th. Sent a Scout down on this Side of the Mountain. The Scout ret^d in the Evening having no Intelligence.

“28th. A Scout of Captⁿ Bussé's arrived and ret^d ab^t Noon; Nothing Extraordinary happened.

“29th. Sent Serj^t Smith with a Scout along the Mountains. He ret^d having nothing particular.

“30th. A Scout of L^t Philip Weiser, from Captⁿ Bussé arrived. Having laid aside out several Detachments to assist the Farmers, I could send no Scout to Day.

“31. Lieut. Weiser ret^d from his Scout. I called in the Detachm^ts this Day, and sent out a Scout which ret^d this Evening.

“Aug^t 1st. The Men being tired & their Feet in Blisters, I let them rest this Day.

“2^d. Sent a Scout along the Mountains with Orders to range to Schuylkill.

“3^d. The Corporal ret^d from his Scout and reported he had ranged as ordered.

"4. A Scout of Captⁿ Busse's arrived & ret^d the same Day. The Inhabitants desiring Assistance to bring in their Harvest, I gave them some men & went altho' a scouting, but as I left few Men in the Fort, I ret^d this Evening.

"5. A Scout of Captⁿ Bussé's arrived & went off aft^r they had rested awhile. Sent Serj^t Smith with a Scout & ordered him to range the Woods on this Side the Mountain. He ret^d and had nothing particular.

"6. Sent off a Scout. They went along on the foot of the Mountain & ret^d the Evening without any Intelligence.

"7th. Being Sunday, I took a Party & went to Church with a party, as the Church lies near the Mountain & the Minister could not come without a Guard.

"8. The Centry fired at an Indian. The Indian stood behind a Bush ab^t 300 Yards off, and was viewing the fort. I went off with 18 Men and parted them in 6 Parties and went after the Indians, but could not come up with them. Went to clearing ab^t the fort, it being thick with Bushes.

"9. Continued clearing & burning Brush so that on the South Side of the Fort, it is cleared a full Musket Shot. A Party of Captain Bussé's arrived.

"10. Sent off a scouting Party, who ret^d and brought no Intelligence. This Night the Centry ab^t an Hour after Dark perceived that a fire had been kindled to burn Brush, but was bef^r Night gone out, began to burn afresh; upon which he called the Serjeant of the Guard, who perceiving the same ordered the Guard to fire, on which the Indians ran off. The Dogs pursued 'em & kept barking after 'em ab^t half a Mile. I had the Men all under Arms; but everything being now quiet, dismissed 'em, ordering them to be in continual Readiness with their Accoutrements on. In ab^t an Hour, the Indians ret^d and took a Fire-

brand out of the Fire & ran off. They were immediately fired on, but in vain.

“Aug. 11. Ensign Biddle arrived at the fort with the Detachment of our Company that were in Easton.

“12. A Scout of Captⁿ Bussé's arrived & ret^d directly.

“13. This day I left the fort in Order to go to the Col^s agreeable to his Orders. I left Ensign Biddle in the fort. Sent a Corporal to range towards Schuylkill, who ret^d the same Evening & the Corporal reported that he ranged as directed and had made no Discoveries. A Scout of Captⁿ Bussé's arrived, & ret^d the same Evening.

“14. Being Sunday, Minister Shumaker came here, & the Soldiers being fatigued with continual Scouting, there was no Scout to Day.

“15. Ensign Biddle sent a Corporal with a Scout to range Eastwards towards Schuylkill & return under the Mountains. The Scout ret^d towards Evening & the Corporal made Report, he had ranged as directed and had no Intelligence.

“16. Sent an express Serjeant with 15 Men to range Eastward along the Mountain. A Scout of Captⁿ Bussé's arrived & ret^d immediately. In the afternoon, the Scout ret^d. The Serj^t made Report he had ranged as directed, but had no news.

“17. Early this Morning Ensign Biddle sent Sej^t Smith with 10 men to escort Lieut. Col^l Wieser, who was expected here this Day. This Day Col^l Weiser arrived, accompanied with Captⁿ Bussé and myself, together with the said Escort. The Col^l returned the same Day homewards, after We had chosen a place where to build a New Fort. Ensign Biddle went along with Captⁿ Bussé.

“18. Sent off a Scout to Fort Lebanon, and ordered them to range the Woods between here & that fort till Night.

“19. The Scout ret^d ab^t 4 O'clock & informed that he had done according to his Orders. Captⁿ Morgan came with the Scout and ret^d the same Evening.

“20. Sent a Scout of 15 Men to range the Woods towards Schuylkill, into Windsor Township, & with Orders to call in some Detachments lying in said Township, according to Lieut. Col^s Orders.

“21. The Scout ret^d with the Detachm^{ts}. The Corporal reported he had done according to his Orders, but had no News. The same Day Captⁿ Bussé & Ensign Biddle arrived from Fort Henry. Captain Bussé ret^d the same Evening.

“22^d. Rece'd an Express from Lieut. Col^l Weiser, with Orders to come to his House. In Pursuance of which, I sat off immediately, leaving Ensign Biddle in the fort.

“23^d. A Scout of Captⁿ Bussé arrived. The Centry's heard the Indians distinctly whistle this Night in the fort Woods.

“24. Ensign Biddle, according to Orders, with a Scout of 20 Men, went over the Mountains to Captain Morgan's Fort.

“25. Lieut. Philip Weiser came here from Fort Henry, with a Scout.

“26. Ensign Biddle ret^d from his Scout, having been at Captⁿ Morgan's Fort, & from thence scouted over the Mountains into Allemangle & from thence along the foot of the Mountains till here. This Day I also arrived at the fort from Lt. Col^l. Weisers.

“27. Having Orders from Lt. Col^l. Weiser's to look out for a proper Place to build a new fort, this being so bad, I began to lay out one on a spot which had been befor pitched upon by the Colonel and Cptⁿ Bussé, But night coming, We could not finish.

“ 28. Laid out the remaining Part of the fort.

“ 29. Had some Brush cut, round the new intended fort, till Evening.

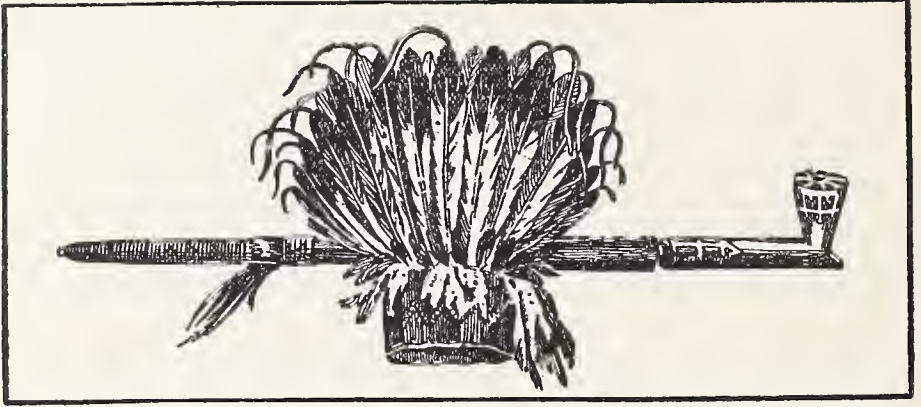
“ 30. Sent off a Scout towards Schuylkill. They ret^d in the Evening, but made no return with the remaining party of the Men. I continued clearing & burning of Brush.

“ 31. Sent off Sejt Smith with a scouting Party, towards Schuylkill. He ret^d but made no Discovery.”

It is probable that this officer was ordered away, with his command, in the beginning of September, because, in a letter of October 1, 1757, to Governor Denny, Colonel Weiser says that Captain Oswald, who commanded a company of regular troops, from the Royal American Regiment, and who was then stationed at Reading, sent immediately two lieutenants, with forty privates, to the assistance of the people about Northkill, who were in distress, which would hardly have been done were the fort still garrisoned.

That it was completely abandoned by March, 1758, is evidenced by the fact that, under this date, the settlers in the neighborhood implored the Governor for assistance because, as they said, “Your Petitioners are every moment dreading an attack from the Enemy, and find ourselves less secure than heretofore, from their attempts, as the Block-house at Northkill is destroyed and no Garrison Kept in those parts.”

In April, 1758, at Tulpehocken, a man by the name of Lebenguth, and his wife, were killed and scalped. At Northkill Nicholas Geiger's wife and two of his children were killed; and also Michael Ditzelar's wife was killed—these were all scalped. The Indians divided themselves into small parties, and surprised the settlers unawares.



CHAPTER XXV.

THE GAP IN THE BLUE MOUNTAINS.



WHILE in nearly every instance the forts erected by the Provincial Government occupied, or commanded, the gaps which were natural passage ways through the range of mountains, yet this was not the case with Fort Henry, nor with Fort Northkill, which served as defenses for what was probably the most populous and important settlement south of the range. The most direct communication of these people with the north was by the old Shamokin Road, which crossed the mountains not far distant from the locality of Fort Northkill. Naturally, the Indians made frequent use of this on their marauding expeditions. On this road, at the top of the Blue Mountains, on one of its most conspicuous points, Dietrich Snyder had built for himself a one-story log house, about twenty

by forty feet. From this a view of the surrounding country could be had, and the approach of hostile parties easily discovered by the trail of burning houses in their tracks. The alarm being given by those on watch to the commander of Fort Northkill he was, thereby, enabled the better to prepare himself, and to be on guard for any emergency which might arise. That the building was occupied for this purpose we have the authority of various old residents, who received their information from most authentic sources.

Upon the death of Dietrich Snyder his wife still remained in the old house, and lived to be 115 years old. The property was then sold to a Mr. Miller, who tore down the building and erected a hotel in its place, which is still standing. The original block-house stood a short hundred yards directly north of the hotel.

FORT LEBANON (AND WILLIAM).

Not far distant from Fort Northkill, to the east, is the important gap in the mountain made by the Schuylkill River, where Port Clinton now stands. Some six miles north of Port Clinton is the town of Auburn, and about one and one-half miles east of Auburn stood Fort Lebanon, distant eleven miles from Fort Northkill, by the route usually taken, which was along the northern base of the Blue Range, then across the mountain by the road past Dietrich Snyder's house. This fort, during the latter part of its history, was also called Fort William. The first mention made of it is in the order sent Captain Jacob Morgan, under date of January 26, 1756, which begins:

"As you are Captain of a Company of foot in the pay of this Province, now posted in a fort in the forks of the Schuylkill, I think it necessary to give you the following

Orders and Instructions for your better government and direction, in the execution of the trust reposed in you." Then follows the order relative to the building of Fort Northkill.

Fort Lebanon probably came into existence during the month of December, 1755. It stood on what was recently the farm of Lewis Marburger, on the north side of the road between Auburn and Pine Dale, about one and a half miles from each. In the olden time this road was not much more than a path, but still the line of communication between the east, west and south. Some sixty yards to the east is the road to Port Clinton, which there crosses Pine Creek by a bridge. The fort was about the same distance to the north of the creek. The ground is level and somewhat elevated, falling down to the creek from just below an oak tree, which marks the location of a spring where the soldiers obtained their water. About seventy-five feet west of the oak tree there still remains a part of the stump of a tree, where quite a number of bullets have been found, and which was probably used by the soldiers as a target. Pine Creek was formerly known as Bohundy Creek. Of the old fort nothing remains save a hollow place in the field, twenty feet north of the road, which marks the location of the cellar.

Fortunately, in the *Pennsylvania Archives* we find a full description of this defense.

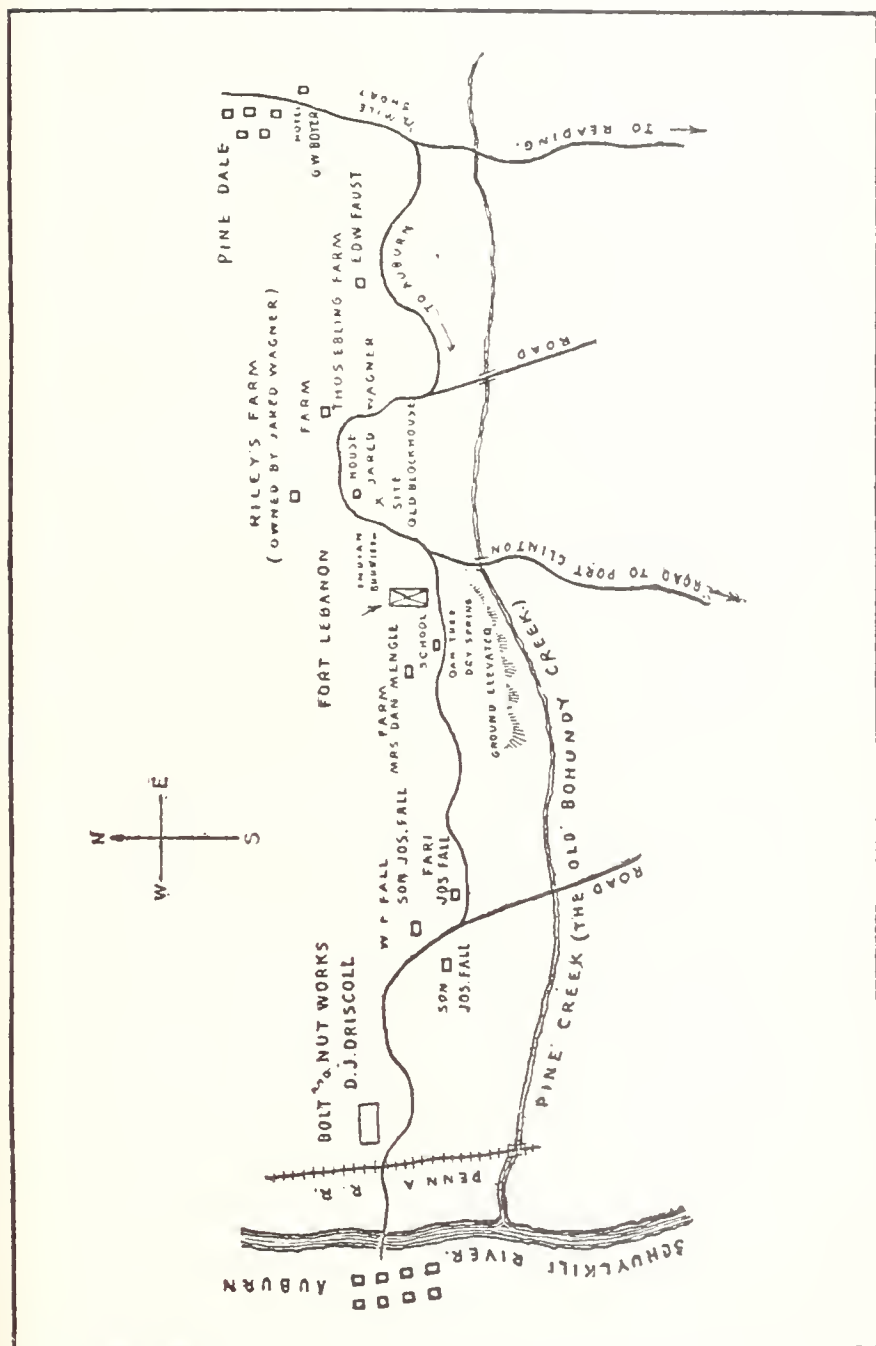
"Description of Fort Lebanon, 1756.

"Fort Lebanon, about 24 miles from Gnadenhütten (Fort Allen at Weissport), in the Line to Shamokin (Sunbury).

"Fort, 100 Foot Square.

"Stockades, 14 Foot high.

"House within 30 × 20, with a large Store Room.



SITE OF FORT LEBANON.

"A Spring within.

"A magazine 12 Foot Square.

"On a Barren not much Timber about it.

"100 Families protected by it within the new Purchase. No Township. Built in three weeks. Something considerably given by the neighbors toward it."

Commissary James Young has this to say of it during his tour of inspection:

"June 21st, 1756—Accordingly we sett out for Fort Lebanon (from Fort Northkill); all the way from North Kill to Lebanon is an Exceeding bad road, very Stony and mountainous. About 6 miles from North Kill, we crossed the North Mountain, where we met Captain Morgan's Lieut. with 10 men. Ranging the woods between the mountain and Fort Leb'n; we past by two Plantations, the Rest of the Country is chiefly Barren Hills, at noon we came to Fort Lebanon, which is situated in a Plain, on one side is a Plantation, on the other a Barren Pretty Clear of Woods all round, only a few trees about fifty yards from the Fort, which I desired might be cut down. This Fort is a square of ab't 100 f't well staccoded with good Bastions, on one side of which is a Good Wall Piece, within is a good Guard house for the People, and two other Large houses built by the Country people who have taken refuge here, in all 6 Families. The Fort is a little too much Crowded on that acc't; I acquainted Cap't Morgan that the Serjeant at Northkill did not do his Duty, and I believ'd it would be for the good of the Service to have a Com'd officer there, on which he ordered his Lieu't, with two more men to go and take post there, and sent with him 4 lbs. Powder & 10 lb Lead. Provincial Arms & Ammun'tn; 28 G'd Muskets, 10 wanting Repair, 9

Rounds of Powder & Lead, 4 lb Powder, 24 lb Lead, 30 Cartooch boxes, 40 Blankets, 1 Axe, 1 Wall Piece.

“By Capt. Morgan’s Journal, it appears, he sends a Party to Range the woods 4 or 5 times a week, and Guard the Inhabitants at their Labor. At 1 P. M. I muster’d the People and Examined the certificates of Inlistments which appear in the muster Roll, after which I order’d the men to fire at a mark, 15 of 28 hit within 2 foot of the center, at the Distance of 80 yards. Provisions here: Flower and Rum for a month; the Commissary sends them money to Purchase meal as they want it.”

Near the fort, some fifty feet from the road, back of where now stands Jared Wagner’s house, lived Paul Heim. During the Indian depredations it was used as a place of refuge, and was planked inside with heavy timbers. At one time Mr. Heim was instrumental in saving a family near him from being burned to death. The Indians had set the building on fire and fastened the door to prevent any one from getting out. Hearing of this, Mr. Heim jumped on his white horse, took his gun, and managed to draw the enemy off, or frighten them away. He then returned, and rescued the people before the house was destroyed.

Living, as they did, to the north of the mountains, and in a comparatively sparsely settled district, the people were especially exposed to the depredations of their savage neighbors at the outbreak of hostilities. The only recourse left to them was to leave their homes, for the time being, and flee to the south. This will partly explain the comparative dearth of recorded murders, great as was the destruction which took place throughout the vicinity. One of the occurrences, however, is graphically described in the following letter from Captain Morgan to Governor Denny:

“November Fourth, 1756.

“Hon’d Sir, Yesterday Morning at Break of Day, one of ye neighbours discovered a Fire at a distance from him; he went to ye top of another Mountain to take a better observation, and made a full Discovery of Fire, and supposed it to be about 7 miles off, at the House of John Finsher; he came and informed me of it; I immediately detach’d a party of 10 men (we being but 22 men in the Fort)to the place where they saw the Fire, at the said Finsher’s House, it being nigh Skulkill, and the men anxious to see the Enemy if there, they ran through the water and the Bushes to the Fire, where to their disappointment saw none of them, but the House, Barn, and other out houses all in Flames, together with a Considerable Quantity of Corn; they saw a great many tracks and followed them, came back to the House of Philip Culmore, thinking to send from thence to alarm the other Inhabitants to be on their Guard, but instead of that found the said Culmore’s wife and Daugther and Son-in-Law all just Kill’d and Scalped; there is likewise missing out of the same House Martin Fell’s wife and Child about 1 Year old, and another Boy about 7 Years of Age, the said Martin Fell was Him that was Kill’d, it was just done when the Scouts came there, and they seeing the Scouts ran off. The Scout divided in 2 partys, one to some other Houses nigh at Hand, & the other to the Fort, (it being within a mile of the Fort) to inform me; I immediately went out with the Scout again, (and left in the Fort no more than 6 men) but could not make any discovery, but brought all the Familys to the Fort, where now I believe we are upwards of 60 women and children that are fled here for refuge, & at 12 of the Clock at Night I Rec’d an Express from Lieut. Humphres, commander at the Fort of North-

kill, who inform'd me that the same Day about 11 o'clock in the Forenoon (about a Half a mile from his Fort) as he was returning from his Scout, came upon a body of Indians to the number of 20 at the House of Nicholas Long, where they had killed 2 old men and taken another Captive, and doubtless would have kill'd all the Family, they being 9 children in the House, the Lieut's party tho' 7 in Number, fired upon the Indians and thought they killed 2, they dropping down and started up again, one held his Hand (as they imagined) over his Wound, and they all ran off making a hallowing noise; we got a Blanket and a Gun which he that was shot dropt in his Flight. The Lieut. had one Man shot through the right Arm and the right side, but hopes not mortal, & he had 4 Shotts through his Own Cloathes. I this day went out with a party to bury the dead nigh here; we are all in high spirits here; if it would please his Honour to order a Reinforcement at both Forts, I doubt not but we should soon have an Opertunity of Revenging the loss, from

“Honour'd Sir

“Your most Humble Serv't to command,

“JACOB MORGAN.”

This wretched story would not be complete without a relation of what happened, later, to one of the actors in it, John Fincher, which serves to show the utter barbarity of the merciless savages who ravaged the frontier. Once more, in September, 1763, his home was visited by eight well-armed Indians, although within three-quarters of a mile of a party of six men of Captain Kern's company of Rangers, commanded by Ensign Scheffer. Being of Quaker belief, at the approach of the Indians he immediately went to the door accompanied by his wife, two

sons and a daughter, invited them to enter in and eat, expressing the hope that they came as friends, and entreating them to spare their lives. To this entreaty the Indians turned a deaf ear. Both parents and two sons were deliberately murdered, their bodies being found on the spot. The daughter was missing after the departure of the Indians, and it was supposed, from the cries heard by the neighbors, that she also was slain.

A young lad, who lived with Fincher, made his escape and notified Ensign Scheffer, who instantly went in pursuit of these cold-blooded assassins. He pursued them to the house of one Miller, where he found four children murdered, the Indians having carried two others off with them. Miller and his wife, being at work in the field, saved their lives by flight. Mr. Miller himself was pursued near one mile by an Indian, who fired at him twice in hot pursuit. Ensign Scheffer and his squad continued after the savages, overtook them, and fired upon them. The Indians returned the fire, and a sharp but short conflict ensued, when the enemy fled, leaving behind them Miller's two children and part of the plunder they had taken.

These barbarous Indians had scalped all the persons they murdered, except an infant about two weeks old, whose head they had dashed against the wall, to which the brains and clotted blood adhered as a silent witness of their cruelty.

On June 24, 1757, Captain Morgan writes:

"On Wednesday last we were alarmed by one of the neighbors that came to the Fort and acquainted us that one Jno. Bushy had seen an Indian at his house (which was about 3 miles from Fort Lebanon). I immediately

went out with a party of men to the place where we found the tracts of three, but could not see any of them.

“Yesterday morning about 8 of the clock, the son of one Adam Drum (whom the Indians had killed the night before in Allemingle, and took the Son Captive) found an opportunity to make his Escape, and came to the Fort; he inform'd me that the Indians (8 in number) had got a quantity of Liquor out of his Fathers House, and came to a Hill about 7 miles from the Fort, where they got a dancing, and made themselves drunk, he took the opportunity and escaped to the Fort, the Indian followed him near a mile and half whom our men afterwards tract'd; so as soon as the young man came I sent out a party to the place where the man left them, but when they came there they only found an old pair of mogasins and a Deer Skin whom they had left, but the Indians were fled; they tract'd them as far as they could but night coming, obliged them to return home. I have this Day sent out a Party to intercept them in the way, to the Gap of the second mountain, (where Schuylkill comes through) being the place which I often found where they retreat back; the men will range about 2 days.”

Captain Morgan remained continuously in command of Fort Lebanon, until, at least, the cessation of hostilities in 1759. Andrew Engel was his lieutenant at first, being succeeded by Lieutenant Humphreys and transferred to Fort Franklin. Jacob Kern, his first ensign, was relieved by Ensign Harry.

By February, 1758, the name of the defense had been changed to Fort William, for what reason we do not know.

Our record of it ends with the following:

“MONTHLY JOURNAL FOR JULY, PER JACOB MORGAN,
1757.

“July the 1st. Sent Corporall with 11 men on a Scout to Clingaman Hausaboughs, at Allemingle, who staid all Night, I sent Serj^t Mathews with several men to Reading, to be Qualified & be supplied with necessaries.

“2^d. The Scout return’d from Allemingle, and reported they had made no discovery of the Enemy.

“3^d. Sent a party to range to Allemingle, same day came a Scout from Northkill Fort & return’d again the same day, bringing no news.

“4th. Our men returned from Allemingle, and reported, that some of the inhabitants that were afraid, near the mountain, were removing downwards; Serj^t Matthews returned with the men from Reading, the rest guarding at the Fort.

“5th, 6th, 7th. Was exceeding heavy rain, & the water very high.

“8th Being a day of Humiliation we app^{ed} our selves thereto.

“9th. Rainy weather, we could not Scout.

“10th. I sent out a party to range to Allemingle; this Day Serj^t Matthews return’d from Colonel Weisers with orders for me to station 10 men in Windsor Township, & to keep 10 men in readiness to go to Easton.

“11th. The Scout return’d back, I prepared the men in readiness according to orders, & sent some men to guard the Farmers in their Harvest.

“12th. I went with the 10 men to Windsor Township I stationed them there, where I found the most proper, In the Evening was very heavy rain & thunder, obliged me to stay all night; we sent some partys from the Fort to guard the farmers.

"13th. I returned in the morning to the fort, I received a Letter from Lieut. Colonel Weiser, to send 10 men to Easton to Guard at the Treaty; partys went to Guard the Farmers, & this Day, in my return, I met the Scout which I had posted in Windsor township, ranging about the farmers houses.

"14th. I sent Sejt Matthews with 9 men to Easton to the Treaty to Guard, & sent out some partys to range and Guard the Farmers, who did not return in the Evening by reason of the heavy rain and thunder, which fell in the Evening.

"15th. Being all Day very heavy rain, & the Creeks so high that Schuylkill rose perpendicular fifteen feet in about nine hours time, being considerable higher than ever was known in these parts; the Guards could not return, and we remained in the Fort, with only 8 men to Guard.

"16th. The rain continued but more moderate, our partys could not return, we staid in the Fort and Guarded as usual; the party ranging up Long Run among the vacant houses, they found old tracts but none new.

"17th. Some of our Guard returned, being relieved by others in their lieu—the Creeks fell very much this Day.

"18th. I sent a party to Guard the farmers at their Harvest, and left some at the neighboring houses, the rest to Guard at the Fort.

"19th. I likewise sent a party to guard who return'd in the Evening, the residue guarding at the Fort.

"20th. I sent out two partys to range and Guard the Farmers, who both returned in the Evening.

"21st. I likewise sent out a party to Guard, we were advertis'd by Jacob Shefer that an Indian was seen near his house, we having 2 men ranging there they saw nothing of their tracts, & believe it was a mistake.

“22^d. Sent out a party to range to the Fort, at North-kill, with Ensign Harry for Ammunition, who staid all night, the rest guarding at the Fort and farmers.

“23^d. The party from North Kill return'd with a Command of Col^l Weiser's men, with Lieut. Weiser himself, who staid here all Night; sent out a party to Guard the Farmers, who return'd in the Evening to the Fort.

“24th. Lieut. Weiser return'd with his Company, sent a party of ten men to relieve the party in Windsor township; the rest to Guard.

“25th. The party return'd from Windsor township to the fort, when a party of them enlisted for three years.

“26th. Sent Serg^t Robert Smith with a Company of men to Reading to be Qualified, and being but a few at the fort could not range; have two Commands at the Farmers.

“27th. I went down to Windsor among the men to see whether they kept good orders; I found everything very well, and enlisted more men and staid there all Night, the Command remaining at the Farmers.

“28th. I returned back to the fort and found everything well; Serj^t Smith, with his party, returned from Reading, the guard remaining still with the Farmers.

“29th. Ensign Harry went out with a party to range among the farmers, and sent out two partys to Guard the Neighbours at their Harvest; they return'd without any discovery or signs of the Enemy.

“30th. I went over the Hill to Windsor township, in order to send some men to Reading to be Qualifyed, I sent a Corporall with Sixteen men; I return'd in the Evening to the fort.

31st. The party return'd from Reading; we had partys at the neighbouring houses who remained there on Guard.”

FORT FRANKLIN.

How, after the Moravian massacre at Gnadenhütten, Benjamin Franklin and James Hamilton were sent by the Governor to arrange a systematic line of defense from the Lehigh to the Delaware River, will be told, in detail, in the coming account of Fort Allen.

When, at the end of January, 1756, this latter stockade was about complete, Franklin immediately sent Captain Foulk "to build another, between this and Schuylkill Fort, which I hope will be finished (as Trexler is to Join him) in a week or 10 Days."

It was hastily built, and quickly completed, so that we need have no hesitation in saying that it came into existence during the month of February, 1756. It was named Fort Franklin, in honor of Benjamin Franklin, even then prominently and actively engaged in caring for the welfare of his country.

It is occasionally referred to as "The Fort above Allemangel," because of its location immediately across the mountain from Albany Township of Berks County. The name "Allemangel" was given Albany Township because of the arid condition of part of the land. It means "All Wants," or "Need everything."

Commissary James Young, on his tour of inspection, visited Fort Franklin. His report concerning it gives us a very good idea of its appearance and location. He says:

"FORT ABOVE ALLEMINGA,—At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 P. M. (June 21st, 1756) we sett out with the former Escort & 2 of Cap't Morgan's Comp'y (from Fort Lebanon) for the Fort above Alleminga, Commanded by Lieu't Ingle (of Capt. Morgan's Company, who was relieved by Lieut.

Sam'l Humphreys) : at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 7 we got there; it is ab't 19 miles N. E. from Fort Lebanon, the Road a Narrow Path very Hilly and Swampy; ab't half way we came thro' a very thick and dangerous Pine Swamp; very few Plantations on this Road, most of them Deserted, and the houses burnt down; $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile to the westward of this Fort is good Plantation, the people retires to the Fort every night. This Fort stands ab't a mile from the North Mountain; only two Plantations near it. This Fort is a square ab't 40 foot, very ill staccaded, with 2 Logg-houses at opposite Corners for Bastions, all very unfit for Defence; the Staccades are very open in many Places, it stands on the Bank of a creek, the Woods clear for 120 yards; the Lieu't Ranges towards Fort Lebanon and Fort Allen, ab't 4 times a Week; much Thunder, Lightning, and Rain all Night. Provincial Stores: 28 G'd muskets, 8 Wants Repair, 16 Cartooch Boxes, 8 lb. Powder, 24 lb. Lead, & 12 Rounds for 36 men, 36 Blankets, 1 Axe, 1 Adse, 1 Augur, 2 Plains, 1 Hammer, 2 Shovels, 9 Small Tin Kettles.

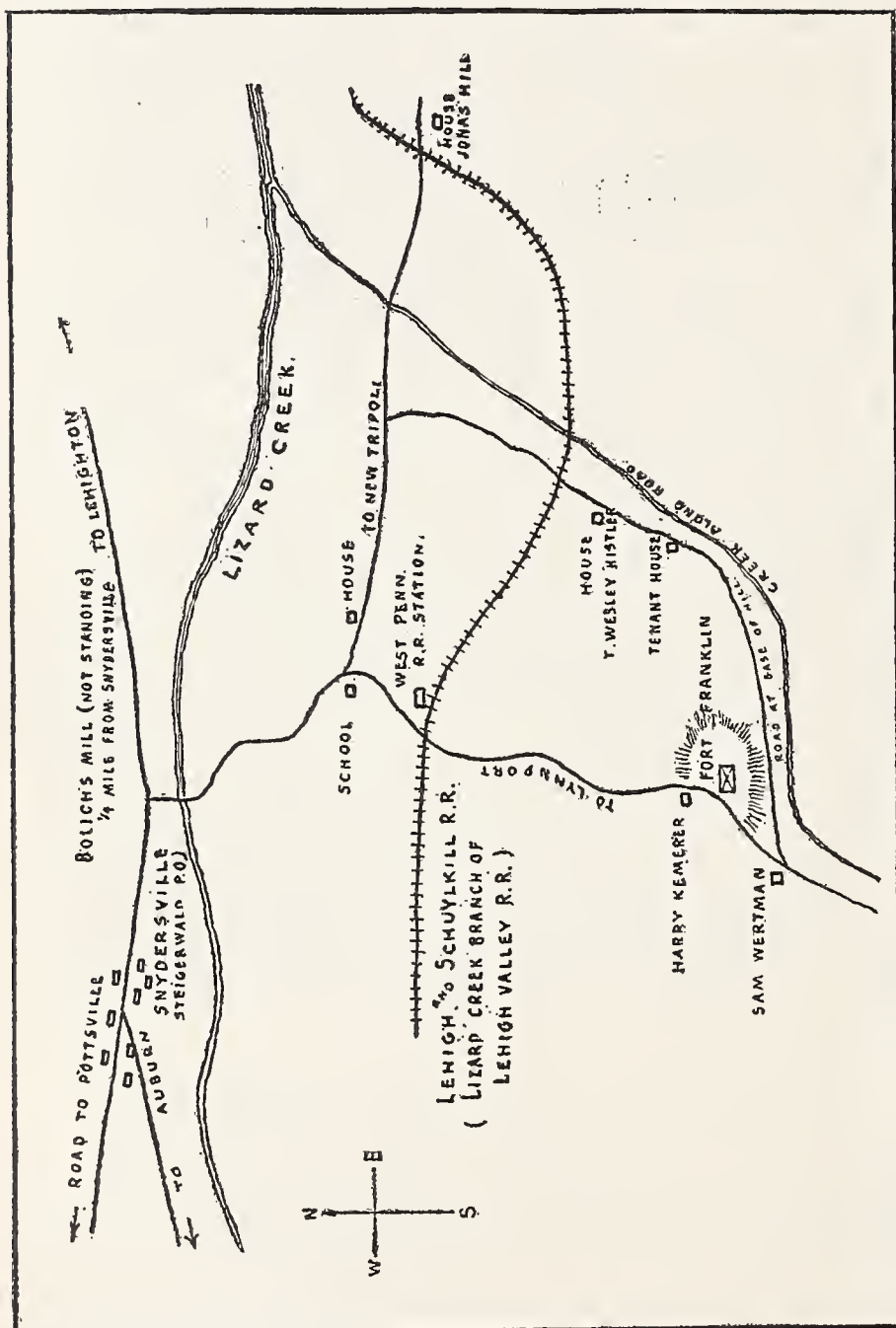
"June 22^d. At 6 A. M. I ordered the People to fire at a mark; not above 4 in 25 hit the tree at the Distance of 85 yards; at 7, mustered them, found 25 Present, 2 Sick, 2 Absent on Furlough, 2 Sent to Reading with a Prisoner, and 5 at Fort Allen on Duty. Provisions, One Cask of Beef Exceeding bad, Flower and Rum for 3 Weeks. At 8 A. M. We sett out for Fort Allen, at Gnadenhütten."

Fort Franklin was situated on a hill, a part of what was at one time the Bolich Farm, now owned by J. Wesley Kistler. It had a most commanding view of the entire country. It was distant from Snydersville, Schuylkill County, about three-fourths of a mile, on the north, and

distant one mile from the base of the Blue Mountains on the south. It stood directly on the road across the mountains to Lynnport, the location of Fort Everett, but a few rods distant from the main road between Fort Allen, at Weissport, and Fort Lebanon, at Auburn. At the base of the hill is a fine creek of water, coming from the mountain and emptying into Lizard Creek, some one-half mile distant. Its distance from Fort Lebanon is some nineteen miles, and from Fort Allen some fourteen miles. We could wish, from the name it bore, that this fort might have been amongst the more important ones. Unfortunately, such was not the case. Poorly constructed in the first place, in the next place its location was in a part of the Province as yet but sparsely settled. Being north of the mountains the district was entirely open to the assaults of the savages. Already many of the plantations had been deserted; buildings and property had been destroyed, and their owners had fled across the mountains to Albany Township, or elsewhere, to find a more thickly settled region and greater safety. It is doubtful whether the defense would ever have been constructed save to fill in the long gap in the chain between Forts Allen and Lebanon.

We are not then surprised to read what Colonel Weiser wrote November 24, 1756, after the conference with the Indians at Easton. He was then at Fort Allen. He says:

“I took my leave of them (certain Indians) and they of me very candidly; Capt. Arnd sent an escort with me of twenty men to Fort Franklin, where we arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon, it being about fourteen miles distant from Fort Allen. I saw that the Fort was not Teanable, and the House not finished for the Soldiers, and that it could not be of any Service to the Inhabitant Part, there



SITE OF FORT FRANKLIN.

being a great Mountain between them. I ordered Lieut'n Engel to Evacuate it, and come to the South side of the Hills himself with Nineteen men at John Eberts Esq'r., and the Rest being Sixteen men more, at John Eckenroad, both places being about three miles distant from each other, and both in the Township of Linn, Northampton (Lehigh) County, until otherwise ordered.

"23rd. Left Fort Franklin. The Lieut., with Ten men, escorted me as far as Probst's, about Eight mile, where I discharged him, and arrived at Reading that Evening."

From that time on the fort was occupied in a very desultory manner. If not actually abandoned it was more and more neglected. To such an extent was this true that the remaining settlers, for some still remained, felt obliged to present the following petition, which was read in the Provincial Council on Saturday, May 7, 1757. The petition is of especial interest because of the names which it contains:

"The petition of George Gilbert, Adam Spittleman, Henry Hauptman, Casper Langelberger, Nicholas Kind, George Merte, Henry Morbech, the widow of Mark Grist, Deceased, the widow of George Krammer, Deceased, (which said Grist and Krammer have lost their Lives in the Defence of their Country lass fall) William Ball, Philip Annes, Jacob Leisser, Will'm Weigand, Anthony Krum, Philip Scholl, Jacob Keim, John Frist, Philip Kirshbaum, William Gabel, John Wissemmer, George Wartman, Jacob Richards, Christopher Speeher, John Scheeffe, & George Sprecher, all Inhabitants of Berks County (now Schuylkill), within four miles of and about Fort Franklin, over the Blue Mountains:

"Most Humbly Sheweth—

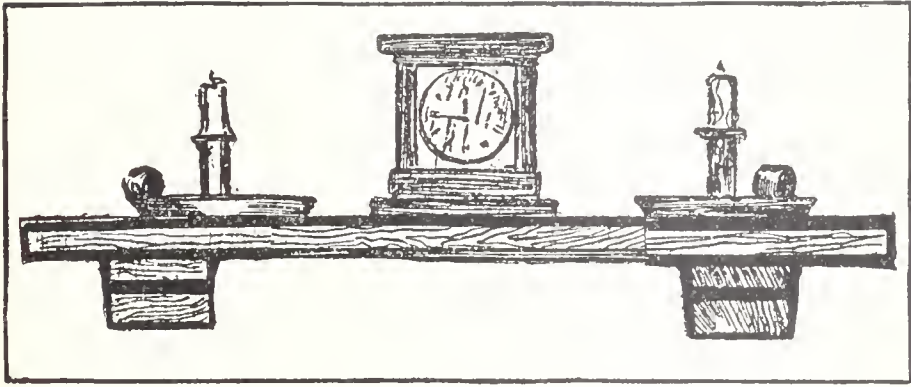
“That your Petitioners are informed that Fort Franklin aforesaid is to be removed to this Side of the said Mountains and a considerable way into Albany Township;

“That if in case the said Fort is to be Removed your Petitioners will be obliged to Desert their Plantations, for their Lives and Estates will then lye at Stake, and a greater part of this Province will lye waste and your Petitioners humbly conceives that it would be the Safest way to have the said Fort continued & rebuilt, as it is very much out of order and Repair.

“Therefore your Petitioners humbly prays your Honour to take the Premises in Consideration and Issue such orders as will Prevent the Removal of the said Fort & order a Suffi't Number of men in it, and to grant your Petitioners such other relief as to you in your wisdom shall seem mete. . . .”

This petition seems to have had some effect for the time being, as the fort was again occupied, temporarily, by a squad, probably a part of Captain Weatherhold's command. In November, 1757, it furnished its quota for Colonel Weiser's guard at Easton, during the conference with the Indians. After that we hear nothing more concerning it.

About two miles southwest of Snydersville stood Stein's Mill, now Stout's Mill, which was used as a place of refuge. In this vicinity the Indians had captured a Mr. Fies and his son. The bones of Fies were discovered a long time after, about one-half mile from his house, being recognized as his by sundry buttons and a frying pan lying near by. The son was never heard of.



CHAPTER XXVI.

IN OLD NORTHAMPTON.



THE EVERETT STOCKADE.

THIS defense was located very near the town of Lynnport, in Lynn Township of Lehigh County. During the Indian War the territory covered by the adjacent township of Albany, in Berks County, and Lynn Town-

ship, in what was then Northampton County, from which Lehigh County was taken, was known as "Allemangel," as mentioned under the head of Fort Franklin.

That part of the Province was already well settled and greatly in need of protection when hostilities began in the fall of 1755. To that end Benjamin Franklin commissioned Captain Nicholas Wetterholt, on December 21, 1755, and placed the district in his charge.

In the course of our narrative, from now on, we will come across the name somewhat frequently. There were two Provincial officers, of the same name, both Germans (Pennsylvania-Germans), both splendid soldiers and both

brave men. They both arrived in Philadelphia, October 22, 1754, in the ship *Halifax*, from Rotterdam, together with a number of other German immigrants. Johann Nicholas Wetterholt entered the military service soon after he had become settled in his adopted country, as we have seen, receiving his commission as Captain in the First Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment on December 21, 1755. In the year 1762 he resided in Heidelberg Township of Northampton (Lehigh) County. His name appears on the tax list of 1764, at the same place.

Johann Jacob Wetterholt, his brother, was commissioned lieutenant on the same day. On April 19, 1756, he was stationed at Dietz (Teed's block-house), and as captain, on September 21 of the same year. He possessed undaunted courage, and firmly believed he had the power of making himself invulnerable (*Kugelfest*), that is that he could not be killed by a gun shot. He bravely met his death, however, in 1763, as will appear later. In 1762 he resided in Lynn Township, of the present Lehigh County; his widow still lived there in 1764, as per tax list.

The two brothers had charge, practically, of the entire frontier, along the southern base of the Blue Range, from Fort Everett to the Delaware River. Because of this fact they were constantly on the move, and were not so permanently located in any one defense, as were some others of the commanding officers. We can the more readily understand, therefore, why the records will have more to say of them, as individuals, than they do of Fort Everett. It so happens, indeed, that the data which we have of this place are most meagre.

The frequent absence of a garrison from the stockade resulted in a petition to the Governor, under date of May 4, 1757, praying that the soldiers might be kept in their

midst, which was signed by forty-one Germans, whose names, unfortunately, do not appear, and which met with success, for the time being at least. In February, 1758, Adjutant Kern reports Capt. Wetterholt still on duty at Fort Everett, with forty-one men, distant from Fort William twelve miles, and having twelve men stationed at "A Block House," ten miles from Fort Everett and twenty miles from Fort Allen.

Fort Everett was visited by Jas. Burd, during his tour of inspection in February, 1758. His journal gives the following record:

"26th Sunday.

"Marches from hence (Fort William) at 10 A. M., went over the mountains to Mr. Everett's, where Captain Wetterholt is stationed, the snow exceedingly deep could make little way, at 3 P. M. arrived at Valentine Phileprots, 20 miles, here I stay all night.

"27th Munday.

"Marched this morning at 8 A. M. for Mr. Everett's, arrived at 9 A. M., 4 miles, ordered a Review of that part of the company that is here, found Cap't Weatherholt, Lieut. Geiger & 24 men, 3 being sick & absent, 3 months' Provisions, 5 pounds powder, no lead, each man has a pound of powder in his Cartouch box & lead in proportion, no Kettles, nor blankets, 25 Province Arms.

"Ordered to Cap't Weatherholt 56 blankets, 25 lb. of powder & 50 bars of lead & 400 flints, Cap't Weatherholt to Scout to the Westward 10 miles & to the eastward 10 miles, Lieut. Geiger from thence to his post in Coll. Armstrong's Battalion.

"Marched from hence to Fort Allen at 11 A. M. gott to the top of the Blue Mountain at 2 P. M., from hence

saw Allamingle, it is a fine country, but the country on the North side of the mountain is an intire barren wilderness, not capable of Improvements.

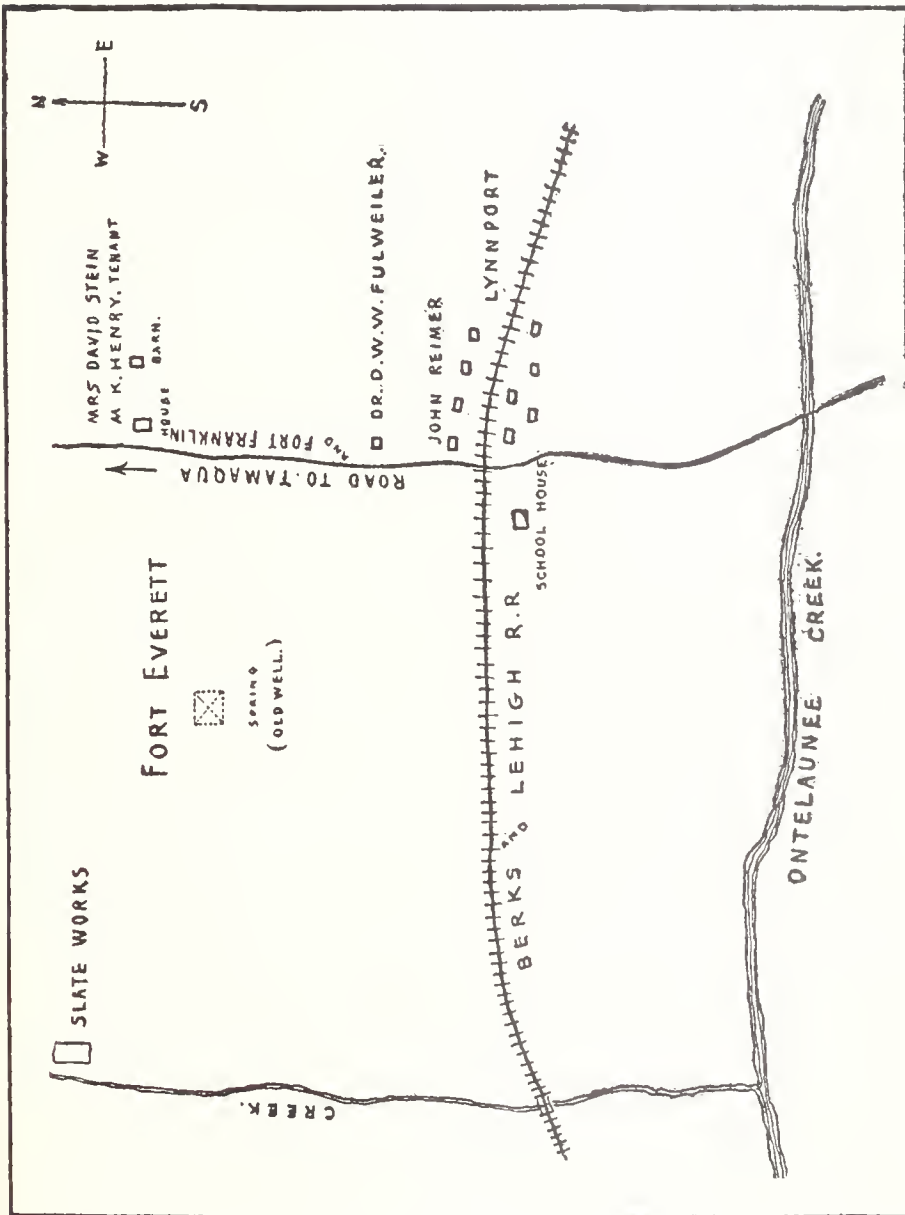
“Arrived at Fort Allen at $\frac{1}{2}$ after 2 P. M. a prodigious Hilly place, and poor land, 15 miles from Mr. Everett’s ordered a review of this Garrison tomorrow at 8 A. M.”

Fort Everett stood in what is now a level, ploughed field, about one-fourth of a mile north of Lynnport, Lynn Township, Lehigh County, distant about one hundred and fifty feet westward from the house of M. K. Henry, a tenant of Mrs. David Stein, and about two hundred and fifty feet from the creek, to the west of it, which flows past the Slate Works and empties into the Ontelaunee Creek. A spring, but a few feet south of where the fort was located, marks the position of what was then a well of water. It was a block-house, about twenty-five by thirty feet. It was erected on the property of John Everett, a man of prominence at the time, and of the same family as Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, whence he came. Whether, however, the building was the home of Mr. Everett, or whether the fort was a separate building, erected on his place, it is difficult to say. It is most probable that the latter was the case.

The vicinity of Fort Everett was, by no means, exempt from its scenes of violence and death.

Justice Timothy Horsfield writes to Governor Denny, from Bethlehem, on November 30, 1756, that “John Holder came here this Evening from Allemangle, and Informed me that last Sunday Evening, ye 28th Inst. three Indians Came to the House of a Certain Man Named Schosser, and Nockt at the Door, the People within called who is there? Answer was made, A good Friend; they within not opening the Door, they Nockt Again, they

within Answer'd, Who is There? No answer being made from without, Then one of the men named Stonebrook,



SITE OF FORT EVERETT.

Look't Out of the window, when an Indian Discharged a gun and kill'd him on the spot. They then Open'd the Door, the Woman & two Children Endeavoring to Escape, and the Indians pursued & took Both the children; One of the Men Fired at the Indians, and Saw One of them fall, when one of the Gairls he had possession of, made her Escape from him, but the other they took away; the Indian y't was fired at which fell cryed Out Very much, but in a Short time he got up & made off."

The following interesting and characteristic letter to Major William Parsons, at Easton, is from the pen of Lieutenant Jacob Weatherhold, and is headed:

"NORTHAMPTON COUNTY, Lynn Township, July 9, 1757.
"Honored Sir:

"These are to Acquaint you of A murder Hapened this Day at the Houce of Adam Clauce, in said Township of Lynn, whaire three or fore Nabors was Cutting said man's Corn; as they was Eating thaire Dinner they waire fell on By A Perty of Saviges, Indians, and Five of the Whites Took to there Heals, two men, two women, and one Gerl, and Got saf out of theire Hands. Was Killed and Scalped, Martin Yager and his Wife, and John Croushores, wife and one Child, and the wife of Abraham Secles and one Child of one Adam Clauce and the wife of John Coucehere, and the wife of Abram Secles was Sculpt and is yet Alive, But Badly wounded, one Shot Thro' the Sid and the other in the Thy, and two Children kild Belonging to said Croushere, and one to said Secles, and one Belonging to Philip Antone not Sculpt, and this Was Don at Least three miles within the out side Settlers, and 4 miles from John Everett's, and Philip Antone's wife was one that Took her Flite and came home and acquainted her hus-

band, and he came and acquainted me, and I went Emeaditely to the Place with Seven men Besides myself and Saw the murder, But the Indians was Gon and I Drectly Purs'ed them About 4 miles and Came Up with them in the thick Groves weaire wee met Nine Indians, and one Sprung Behind a Tree and took Site at me and I run Direct at him, and another one the side Flast at me, and then Both took to their Heals, and I shot one as I Goge Thro' the Body, as he fell on his face, But I Loaded and after another that was Leding A Maire, and ye meane time he Got up and Run away and I fired on the other, and I think I shot him in ye Buttux, and my Soldiers had oppertunity to shoot three times, and then they Got out of oure Site in the thick Groves, and Wee cold not find them No more, But I Got from them one maire and two Saddels, one Bridel and Halter, & one Bag with a Cag of Stil Licker in it, and cloths and one Brace Cittel and fore Indian Cake Baked in the ashes of wheat meal and to Aquat your further, that I have Several New Soldiers that has No Guns, and very Little Powder and Led, and I have sent this Express to you Hoping that you wold Help me with Arms and Ammenishan, and so I Remaine your friend and Umble Servent.

“JACOB WETHERHOLD.”

Referring to this sad occurrence, Colonel Weiser writes Governor Denny from Easton, on July 15:

“In coming along thro' the Maxitawny, I heard a melancholly Account of Ten People being Killed by the Enemy Indians. They passed by two or three Plantations on this side of the mountain before they attacked. A certain woman ran off towards her Place and told her Husband of the attack, who cut the Gears off his Horses

then in the Plow, and rid as fast as he could to Lieut. Wetherholts, about three miles off. Lieut. Wetherholt, with a small Detachment, I am told Seven in number, came away immediately, and came to the Place where the murder was committed, where, by that time, a number of People had gathered. Wetherholts proposed to pursue the Enemy but none would go with him, so he took his Seven men & pursued the Enemy a few miles from the House & found the Place where they rested themselves, and in ab't three miles He overtook them in thick Brushes, at a very little Distance. It seems they saw one another at once. One of the Indians was before hand with Wetherholts & aimed at him, but his Gun flashed. Wetherholt, a moment after, fired at the Indians, and thinks he hit him, but is not sure. Several Guns were fired by our People but did no Execution, and the Indians Guns missing fire they ran off & left two Horses behind them, one belonging to the man they killed, laden with the best of his Household Goods."

The Rev. Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg, D.D., in the *Hallische Nachrichten* tells the soul-stirring story of Frederick Reichelsdorfer, whose two grown daughters had attended a course of instruction, under him, in the catechism, and been solemnly admitted by confirmation to the communion of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, in New Hanover, Montgomery County.

This man afterwards went with his family some distance into the interior, to a tract of land which he had purchased in Albany Township, Berks County. When the war with the Indians broke out he removed his family to his former residence, and occasionally returned to his farm, to attend to his grain and cattle. On one occasion he went, accompanied by his two daughters, to spend a few days there,

and bring away some wheat. One Friday evening, after the wagon had been loaded, and everything was ready for their return on the morrow, his daughters complained that they felt anxious and dejected, and were impressed with the idea that they were soon to die. They requested their father to unite with them in singing the familiar German funeral hymn,

“Wer weisz, wie nahe mir mein Ende?”
(Who knows how near my end may be?)

after which they commended themselves to God in prayer, and retired to rest.

The light of the succeeding morn (February 14, 1756) beamed upon them, and all was yet well. Whilst the daughters were attending to the dairy, cheered with the joyful hope of soon greeting their friends, and being out of danger, the father went to the field for the horses, to prepare for their departure home. As he was passing through the field he suddenly saw two Indians, armed with rifles, tomahawks and scalping knives, making towards him at full speed. The sight so terrified him that he lost all self command, and stood motionless and silent. When they were about twenty yards from him, he suddenly, and with all his strength, exclaimed “Lord Jesus, living and dying, I am thine!” Scarcely had the Indians heard the words “Lord Jesus” (which they probably knew as the white man’s name of the Great Spirit), when they stopped short, and uttered a hideous yell.

The man ran, with almost supernatural strength, into the dense forest, and, by taking a serpentine course, the Indians lost sight of him, and relinquished the pursuit. He hastened to an adjoining farm, where two German families resided, for assistance, but, on approaching near

it, he heard the dying groans of the families, who were falling beneath the murderous tomahawks of some other Indians. (Jacob Gerhart's home, where they killed one man, two women and six children. Two children slipped under the bed, one of whom was burned; the other escaped and ran a mile for assistance.)

Having providentially not been observed by them, he hastened back to learn the fate of his daughters. But, alas! on arriving within sight, he found his home and barn enveloped with flames. Finding that the Indians had possession here too, he hastened to another adjoining farm for help. Returning, armed, with several men, he found the house reduced to ashes, and the Indians gone. His eldest daughter had been almost entirely burnt up, a few remains only of her body being found. And, awful to relate, the younger daughter, though the scalp had been cut from her head, and her body horribly mangled from head to foot with the tomahawk, was yet living. "The poor worm," says Muhlenberg, "was able to state all the circumstances of the dreadful scene." After having done so she requested her father to stoop down to her that she might give him a parting kiss, and then go to her dear Saviour; and after she had impressed her dying lips upon his cheek, she yielded her spirit into the hands of that Redeemer, who, though His judgments are often unsearchable and His ways past finding out, has nevertheless said, "I am the resurrection and the life, if any man believe in me, though he die yet shall he live."

On the twenty-fourth of March following, ten wagons went to Allemangel (Albany) to bring down a family with their effects, and as they were returning, about three miles below George Zeisloff's, were fired upon by a number of Indians from both sides of the road; upon which the

wagoners left their wagons and ran into the woods, and the horses, frightened at the firing and terrible yelling of the Indians, ran down a hill and broke one of the wagons to pieces. The enemy killed George Zeisloff and his wife, a lad of twenty, a boy of twelve, also a girl of fourteen years of age, four of whom they scalped. Another girl was shot in the neck and through the mouth, and scalped, notwithstanding all of which she got off. A boy was stabbed in three places, but the wounds were not thought to be mortal. They killed two of the horses, and five were missing, with which it is thought they carried off the most valuable goods that were in the wagon.

In November, 1756, the Indians carried off the wife and three children of Adam Burns, the youngest child being only four weeks old. In June, 1757, they murdered one Adam Trump. They took Trump's wife and his son, a lad nineteen years old, prisoners, but the woman escaped, though upon her flying she was so closely pursued by one of the Indians (of whom there were seven) that he threw his tomahawk at her and cut her badly in the neck. This murder happened in the midst of a great thunder-storm which extended over the larger part of two counties.

In March, 1756, the Indians laid the house and barn of Barnabas Seitle in ashes, and the mill of Peter Conrad, and killed Mrs. Neytong, the wife of Baltzer Neytong, and took his son, a lad eight years old, into captivity. Next morning Seitle's servant informed Captain Morgan of the injury done by the Indians, whereupon the Captain, and seven men, went in pursuit of the enemy but could not find them. On his return he met a person named David Howell, at whom these same Indians had fired five times, the last shot penetrating his arm.

On March 24, the house of Peter Kluck, about fourteen

miles from Reading, was set on fire by the savages, and the whole family killed. While the flames were still ascending the Indians assaulted the house of one Lindenman, in which there were two men and a woman, all of whom ran up stairs, where the woman was shot dead through the roof. The men then ran out of the house to engage the Indians, when Lindenman was shot in the neck, and the other through the jacket. Upon this Lindenman ran towards the Indians, two of whom only were seen, and shot one of them in the back, when he fled, and he and his companion scalped him and brought away his gun and knife.

About the same time the Indians carried off a young lad named John Schoep, about nine years old, whom they took by night, seven miles beyond the Blue Mountains, where, according to the statement of the lad, the Indians kindled a fire, tied him to a tree, took off his shoes and put moccasins on his feet. They then prepared themselves some mush, but gave him none. After supper they marched on further. The same Indians took him and another lad between them, and went beyond the second mountain, having gone six times through streams of water, and always carried him across. The second evening they again struck up fire, took off his moccasins, and gave him a blanket to cover himself; but at midnight, when all the Indians were fast asleep, he made his escape, and, by day-break, had traveled some six miles. He passed on that day, sometimes wading streams neck-deep, in the direction of the Blue Mountain. That night he stayed in the woods. The next day, exhausted and hungry, he arrived by noon at Uly Meyer's plantation, where Charles Folk's Company lay (probably at or near Fort Franklin), where they wished him to remain till he had regained strength, when

they would conduct him to his father. He was accordingly sent home.

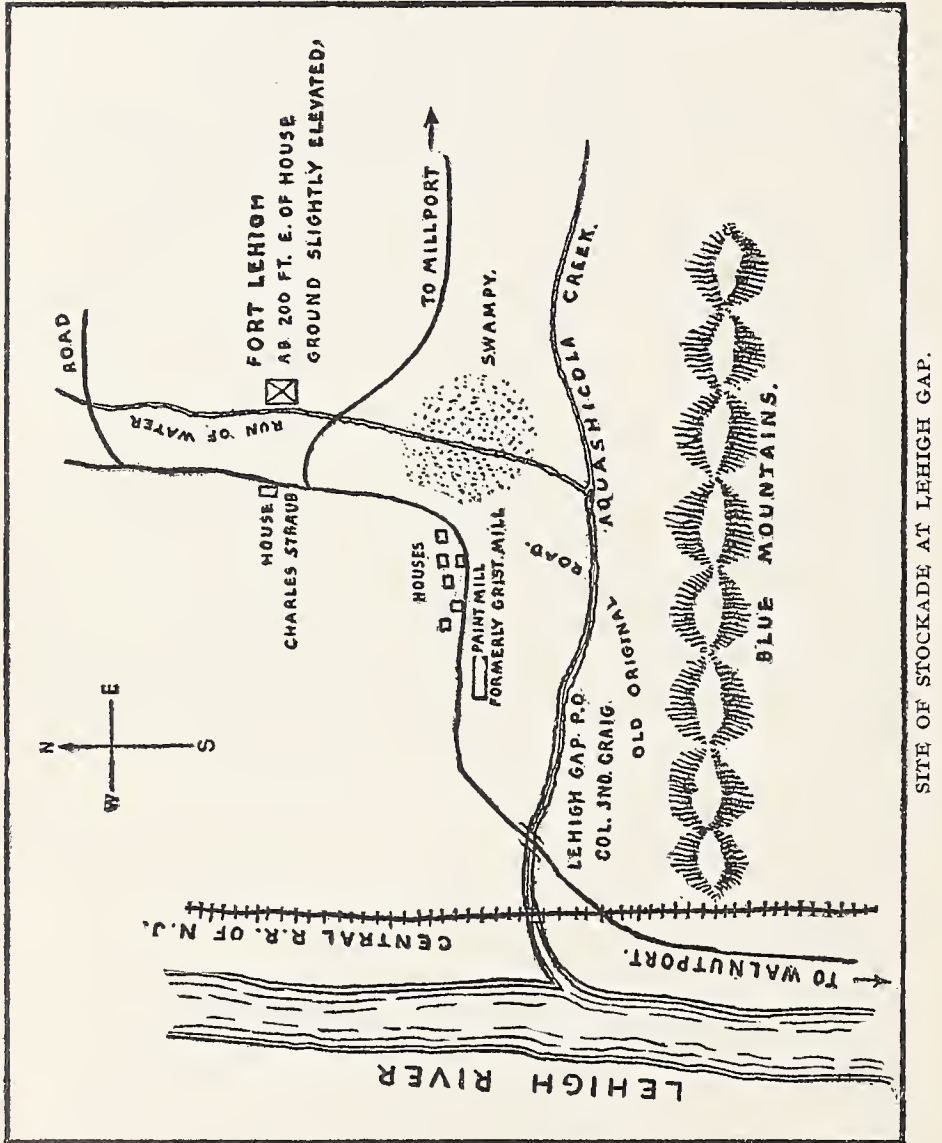
STOCKADE AT LEHIGH GAP.

This stockade was at Lehigh Gap, immediately on the north side of the mountain. Its distance from Colonel Jno. Craig's store, at which is the Lehigh Gap post office, is about one-half mile. It stood on property originally belonging to Nathaniel Irish, adjoining that of Nicholas Opplinger, where Benjamin Franklin remained all night, when on his way to Fort Allen. It is now the farm of Charles Straub. The defense was on slightly elevated ground, at the foot of which a small run of water meanders down to the Aquashicola Creek. It commands the entrance to the Lehigh Gap, and was at the junction of the road to Fort Allen, at Weissport, on the north, and the road to Fort Norris, on the east. It was merely an ordinary block-house, surrounded by a stockade, built by the settlers, either in the latter part of 1755 or beginning of 1756, as a place of defense. Its position was so advantageous, however, that it was garrisoned by provincial troops, probably until 1758.

In the course of his visit of inspection to the various forts, in June, 1756, Commissary James Young reached this point, and says :

"June 22—at 4 P. M. Sett out (from Fort Allen), at 6 came to Leahy Gap where I found a Serjeant and 8 men Stationed at a Farm house with a small Staccade Round it, from Fort Allen here the Road is very hilly and Swampy, only one Plantation ab't a mile from the Gap? I found the People here were a Detachment from Capt'n (Nicholas) Weatherholt's Comp'y, he is Station'd

on the other side of the Gap, 3 miles from this with 12 men, the rest of his Comp'y are at Depues and another



Gapp 15 miles from this. . . . the People Stationed here and on the other side the Gapp I think may be of great ser-

vice, as it is a good road thro' the mountain and very steep and high on each side, so may in a great measure prevent any Indians to pass thro' undiscovered if they kept a good guard, here the River Leahy Passes thro' the mountain in a very Rapid Stream."

On February 5, 1758, Lieutenant Engel was in command, with thirty men under him.

Among the settlers who lived here during the war was a Mr. Boyer. His place was about one and a half miles east of the fort. With the other farmers he had gathered his family into the block-house for protection. One day, however, with his son Frederick, then thirteen years old, and the other children, he went home to attend to the crops. Mr. Boyer was ploughing and Frederick was hoeing, while the rest of the children were in the house, or playing near by. Without any warning they were surprised by the appearance of Indians. Mr. Boyer, seeing them, called to Frederick to run, and himself endeavored to reach the house. Finding he could not do so he ran towards the creek, and was shot through the head as he reached the farther side. Frederick, who had escaped to the wheat field, was captured and brought back. The Indians, having scalped the father in his presence, took the horses from the plough, his sisters and himself, and started for Stone Hill in the rear of the house. There they were joined by another party of Indians and marched northward to Canada. On the march the sisters were separated from their brother, and never afterwards heard from. Frederick was a prisoner with the French and Indians in Canada for five years, and was then sent to Philadelphia. Of Mrs. Boyer, who remained in the block-house, nothing further is known. After reaching Philadelphia, Frederick made his way to Lehigh Gap, and took

possession of the farm. Shortly after, he married the daughter of Conrad Mehrkem, with whom he had four sons and four daughters. He died October 31, 1832, aged 89 years.

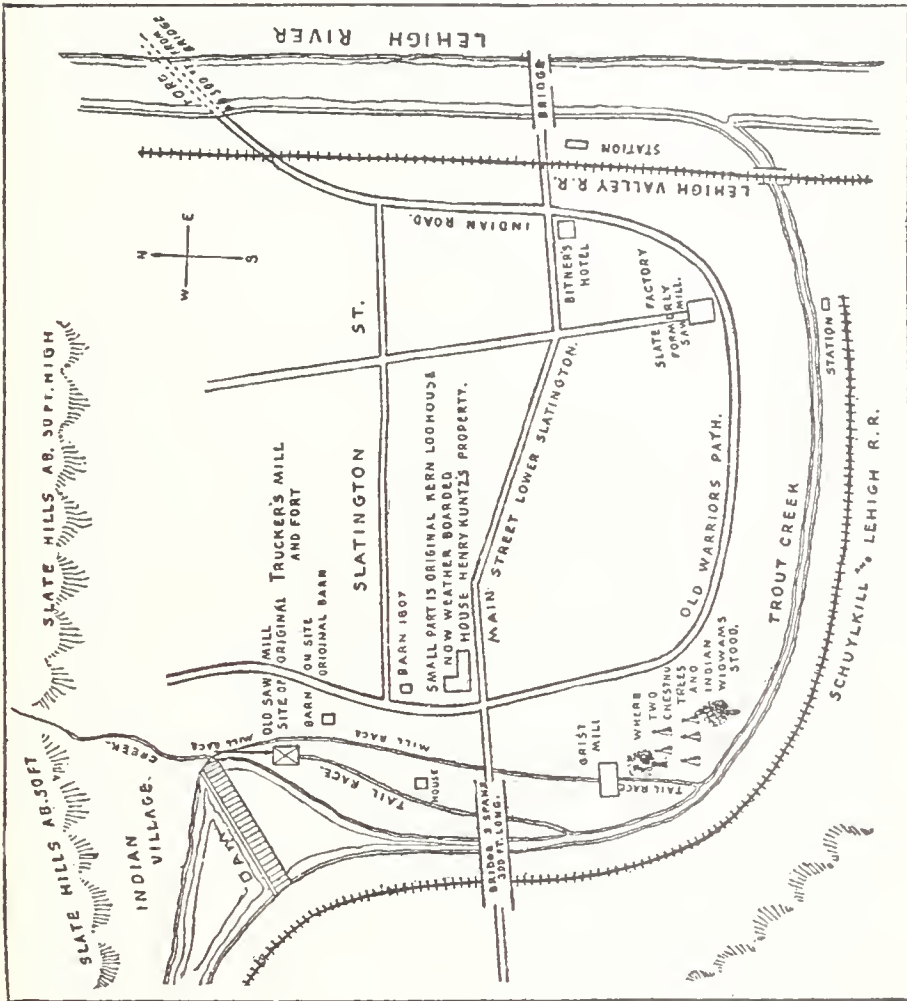
TRUCKER'S (KERN'S) MILL.

The reader will recall that James Young, on his visit to the stockade in the Lehigh Gap, states: "I found the people here were a Detachment from Capt'n Wetherholt's Comp'y, he is Stationed on the other side of the Gapp, 3 miles from this, with 12 men. . . ." This was in June, 1756. On April 8, 1756, Governor Morris writes to Captain Weatherholt, "As there are Eleven of your men stationed at Trucker's Mill, I think it for the publick safety that they should be employ'd in ranging the woods, when the people of that township are inclinable to Joyn them and assist in such service; I do, therefore, order that the said men stationed at Trucker's Mill, when they are not employ'd in escorting Provisions or Stores, shall employ themselves in scouring and ranging the woods; and I recommend it to the inhabitants to Joyn them from time to time for that purpose, and you are to take care that this, my order, be carry'd into full Execution."

This station was the old, original, saw mill, in Slatington, which stood on the site of the present saw mill, on Trout Creek, some one hundred and seventy-five feet north of the bridge at Main Street. It belonged to the Kern family, and was built prior to 1755. It was subsequently removed to the place now occupied by the Slate (mantel) Factory.

Nicholas Kern, the first settler, took up this land as early as 1737, on which he subsequently built his home. Upon his death, in 1748, the property was equally di-

vided, by will, between his widow, six sons and one daughter, who survived. All the family remained at the place until the youngest children had arrived at maturity,



when some of them removed to the lower part of the county, where their descendants still reside. William and John remained at the homestead, taking care of the farm and mills which had been erected on Trout Creek. Wil-

liam seems to have been of a jovial disposition, and given somewhat to joking. Because of this fact, he was called "Trockener," in German, signifying a joker or wit. This, in time, became corrupted to "Trucker," so that on the Evans map of 1755, as well as that of Edward Scull of 1770, one of the Kern mills, the one in which we are interested, was designated as "Trucker's Mill." It stood beside the only road then existing, an old Indian path, which crossed the Lehigh at a ford some five hundred feet above the bridge leading to Walnutport. It was known as the "Warriors' Path," and the ford designated as the "Warriors' Crossing." In 1761 a road was laid out, following its line, which still exists in Slatington.

What made the mill a place of especial importance was the fact that not only did it supply the neighborhood with lumber, but that it also furnished Franklin with the timber necessary in the erection of Fort Allen, as mentioned by him in a report which will appear later.

FORT ALLEN.

With the occurrence of the Moravian massacre at Gnadenhütten the whole country became alarmed and aroused. At 8 A. M., November 24, 1755, Colonel Anderson, from New Jersey, and his company, left Bethlehem for Gnadenhütten, accompanied by a number of settlers. On the twenty-sixth Captain Wilson and his company, from Bucks County, started for the mountains.

By the middle of December the Governor reported to the Council that, in addition to this massacre, the Indians had already burnt fifty houses in Northampton County, murdered above one hundred persons, and were still continuing their ravages.

A thorough and systematic plan of defense was a matter

of immediate necessity. Benjamin Franklin and James Hamilton, later to become Governor of the Province, were selected to execute such a plan, and, on December 18, arranged to start for Easton. On December 29, after their arrival at this place, they appointed William Parsons to be major of the troops raised in Northampton County.

In the meantime, Captain Hays, with his company from the Irish settlement, in Northampton County, had been ordered up to New Gnadenhütten. The troops were stationed at the deserted village to guard the brethren's mills, which were filled with grain, and to keep the other property from being destroyed.

A temporary stockade was erected, and all would have gone well had the soldiers been better versed in Indian tactics. From lack of this experience disaster followed, and, on January 1, 1756, a number of the men fell victims to an Indian stratagem. While amusing themselves skating on the ice of the river, near the stockade, they caught sight of two Indians farther up the frozen stream. Thinking that it would be an easy matter to capture or kill them the soldiers gave chase, and rapidly gained upon the Indians, who proved to be decoys skilfully manœuvring to draw them into an ambush. After they had gone some distance a party of Indians rushed out behind them, cut off their retreat, and, falling upon them with great fury, as well as with the advantage of surprise and superior numbers, quickly dispatched them. Some of the soldiers, remaining in the stockade, filled with horror at this murder of their comrades, deserted, and the few remaining, thinking themselves incapable of defending the place, withdrew. The savages then seized upon such property as they could use and fired the stockade, the Indian houses and mills.

On the same day the savages burnt seven farm houses between Gnadenhütten and Nazareth, and killed a number of people.

Franklin immediately started for Bethlehem, from which place he writes, January 14, to the Governor, as follows:

“*Sir:*

“As we drew near this Place we met a number of wag-gons and many People moving off with their effects and families from the Irish Settlement and Lehi Township, being terrified by the defeat of Hay’s Company, and the Burnings and murders committed in the Township on New Year’s Day. We found this place filled with Refugees, the workmen’s Shops and even Cellars being crowded with Women & Children; and we learnt that Lehi Township is almost entirely abandoned by the Inhabitants. Soon after my arrival here, the principal People of the Irish Settlement, as Wilson, elder Craig, &c., came to me and demanded an Addition of 30 men to Craig’s Company, or threat’ned they would immediately one and all leave that country to the Enemy. Hay’s Company was reduc’d to 18 men (and those without Shoes, Stockings, Blankets or Arms) partly by the loss at Gnadenhütten, and partly by Desertion. Trump and Aston had made but slow Progress in building the First Fort, complaining for want of Tools, which it was thought the People in those Parts might have Supply’d them with. Wayne’s Company we found posted at Nazareth agreeable to your Honour’s Orders. I immediately directed Hays to compleat his Company, and he went down to Bucks County with M’r Beatty, who promised to assist him in Recruiting. His Lieutenant lies here lame with frozen Feet, and unfit for

Action; But the Ensign, with the 18 men, is posted among the present Frontier Inhabitants to give some Satisfaction to the Settlement People, as I refus'd to increase Craig's Company. In my turn, I have threatened to disband or remove the Companies already posted for the Security of particular Townships, if the People would not stay on their Places, behave like men, do something for themselves, and assist the Province Soldiers. The Day after my arrival here, I sent off 2 Waggon's loaded with Bread, and some axes, for Trump & Aston, to Nazareth, escorted by Lieut. Davis, and the 20 men of McLaughlin's that came with me; I ordered him to remain at Nazareth to guard that place while Capt. Wayne, whose men were fresh, proceeded with the Convoy. To secure Lyn and Heidelberg Township, whose Inhabitants were just on the Wing, I took Trexler's Company into Pay (he had been before commission'd by M'r Hamilton), and I commission'd Wetterholt who commanded a Watch of 44 men before in the Pay of the Province, ordering him to compleat his Company. I have also allowed thirty men to secure the township of Upper Smithfield and commission'd Van Etten and Hindshaw as Captain and Lieutenant. And in order to execute more speedily the first Design of erecting a Fort near Gnadenhütten to compleat the Line and get the Rangers in motion, I have rais'd another Company under Capt'n Charles Foulk, to join with Wayne in that Service; and as Hays I hear is not likely soon to recruit his Company, I have ordered Orndt to come up from Rockland in Bucks County to Strengthen this Part of the Province, Convoy Provision, &c. to the company, who are and will be at work over the mountains, and quiet the Inhabitants who seem terrified out of their Senses."

In addition to the above official report made by Franklin

showing how he was gradually bringing order out of chaos, we are fortunate in having the following private account, in his autobiography, of what took place at Bethlehem, and how, in person, he went to Gnadenhütten and superintended the erection of Fort Allen:

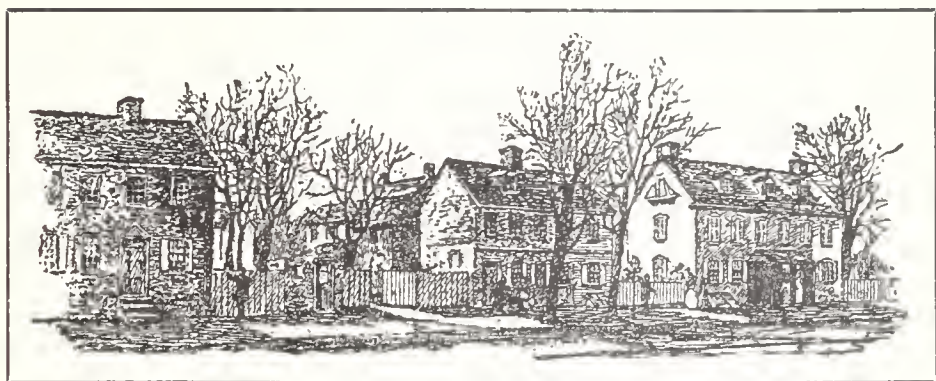
“While the several companies in the city and country were forming and learning their exercise, the Governor prevailed with me to take charge of our Northwestern frontier, which was infested by the enemy, and provide for the defence of the inhabitants by raising troops, and building a line of forts. I undertook this military business, though I did not conceive myself well qualified for it. He gave me a commission with full powers, and a parcel of blank commissions for officers, to be given to whom I thought fit. I had but little difficulty in raising men, having soon five hundred and sixty under my command. My son, who had in the preceding war been an officer in the army raised against Canada, was my aide-de-camp and of great use to me. The Indians had burned Gnadenhütten, a village settled by the Moravians, and massacred the inhabitants; but the place was thought a good situation for one of the forts. In order to march thither, I assembled the companies at Bethlehem, the chief establishment of those people. I was surprised to find it in so good a posture of defence, the destruction of Gnadenhütten had made them apprehend danger. The principal buildings were defended by a stockade; they had purchased a quantity of arms and ammunition from New York, and had even placed quantities of small paving stones between the windows of their high stone houses, for their women to throw them down upon the heads of any Indians that should attempt to force their way into them. The armed brethren too kept watch, and relieved

each other on guard methodically as in any garrison town. In conversation with the bishop, Spangenberg, I mentioned my surprise; for knowing they had obtained an act of parliament exempting them from military duties in the colonies, I had supposed they were conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms. He answered me, "That it was not one of their established principles; but at the time of their obtaining that act it was thought to be a principle with many of their people. On this occasion, however, they, to their surprise, found it adopted by but few." It seems they were either deceived in themselves, or deceived the parliament; but common sense, aided by present danger, will sometimes be too strong for whimsical opinions.

"It was the beginning of January, 1756, when we set out upon this business of building forts. I sent one detachment towards the Minisink, with instructions to erect one for the security of that upper part of the country; and another to the lower part with similar instructions; and I concluded to go myself with the rest of my forces to Gnadenhütten, where a fort was thought more immediately necessary. The Moravians procured me five wagons for our tools, stores, baggage, &c. Just before we left Bethlehem, eleven farmers, who had been driven from their plantations by the Indians, came to me requesting a supply of fire arms, that they might go back and bring off their cattle. I gave them each a gun with suitable ammunition. We had not marched many miles before it began to rain, and it continued raining all day. There were no habitations on the road to shelter us, till we arrived near night at the house of a German, where, in his barn, we were all huddled together as wet as water could make us. It was well we were not attacked in our march for our arms were of the ordinary sort, and the men could

not keep the locks of their guns dry. The Indians are dextrous in their contrivances for that purpose, which we had not. They met that day the eleven poor farmers above mentioned, and killed ten of them, the one that escaped informed us that he and his companions' guns would not go off, the priming being wet with the rain. The next day being fair, we continued our march, and arrived at the desolate Gnadenhütten; there was a mill near, round which were left several pine boards, with which we soon hutted ourselves; an operation the more necessary at that inclement season, as we had no tents. Our first work was to bury more effectually the dead we found there, who had been half interred by the country people; the next morning our fort was planned and marked out, the circumference measuring four hundred and fifty-five feet, which would require as many palisades to be made, one with another of a foot diameter each. Each pine made three palisades of eighteen feet long, pointed at one end. When they were set up, our carpenters built a platform of boards all around within, about six feet high, for the men to stand on when to fire through the loop-holes. We had one swivel gun, which we mounted on one of the angles, and fired it as soon as fixed, to let the Indians know, if any were within hearing, that we had such pieces; and thus our fort (if that name may be given to so miserable a stockade) was finished in a week, though it rained so hard every other day that the men could not well work.

“This kind of work, however contemptible, is a sufficient defence against Indians who had no cannon. Finding ourselves now posted securely, and having a place to retreat to on occasion, we ventured out in parties to scour the adjacent country.”



CHAPTER XXVII.

FRANKLIN'S DETAILED ACCOUNT.



IN a personal letter to Governor Morris, under date of January 25, Franklin gives the following detailed account of the building of the fort:

“FORT ALLEN, AT GNADEN-HUTTEN, Jan. 25, 1756.

“*Dear Sir:*

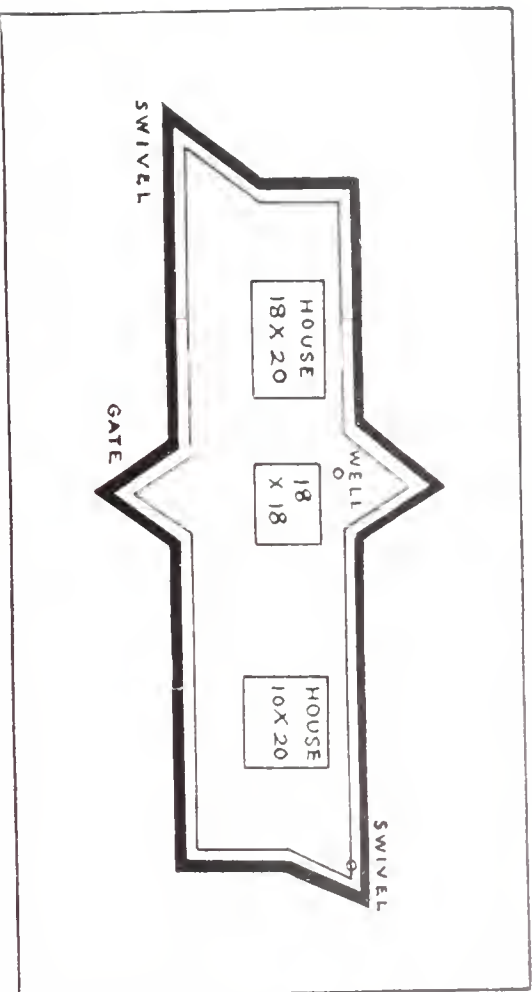
“We got to Hays the same evening we left you, and reviewed Craig's Company by the way.

Much of the next morning was spent in exchanging the bad arms for good—Wayne's Company having joined us. We reached, however, that night to Uplinger's, where we got into good Quarters.

“Saturday morning we began to march towards Gnadenhütten, and proceeded near two miles; but it seeming to set in for a rainy day, the men unprovided with great coats, and many unable to secure effectually their arms from the wet, we thought it most advisable to face about and return

to our former Quarters, where the men might dry themselves and lie warm; whereas, had they proceeded they would have come in wet to Gnadenhütten where Shelter and Opportunity of drying themselves that night was uncertain. In fact it rain'd all day and we were all pleased that we had not proceeded. The next Day, being Sunday, we march'd hither, where we arrived about 2 in the afternoon, and before 5 had inclosed our Camp with a Strong Breast work, Musket Proof, and with Boards brought here before by my Order from Drucker's Mill, got ourselves under some shelter from the Weather. Monday was so dark with thick Fog all day, that we could neither look out for a Place to build or see where Materials were to be had. Tuesday morning we looked round us, Pitched on a Place, mark'd out our Fort on the Ground, and by 10 o'clock began to cut Timber for Stockades and to dig the Ground. By 3 in the afternoon the Logs were all cut and many of them halled to the Spot, the Ditch dug to Set them in 3 Feet deep, and that Evening many were pointed and set up. The next Day we were hinder'd by Rain most of the Day. Thursday we resum'd our Work and before night were pretty well enclosed, and on Friday morning the Stockade was finished and part of the Platform within erected, which was compleated the next morning, when we dismissed Foulk's and Wetterholt's Companies and sent Hay's down for a Convoy of Provisions. This Day we hoisted your Flag, made a general Discharge of our Pieces, which had been long loaded, and of our two Swivels, and Nam'd the Place Fort Allen, in Honor of our old Friend (Judge William Allen, father of James Allen, who laid out Allentown in 1762, and also Chief Justice of the Province). It is 125 Feet long, 50 wide, the Stockadoes most of them a Foot thick; they are 3 Foot in the Ground and 12 Feet out, pointed at the Top.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



PLAN OF FORT ALLEN-1756.

“This is an Account of our week’s work, which I thought might give you some Satisfaction.

“Foulk is gone to build another (Fort Franklin), between this and Schuylkill Fort (Fort Lebanon), which I hope will be finished (as Trexler is to Join him) in a week or 10 Days; As soon as Hays returns I shall detach another Party to erect another at Surfos’ (Fort Norris) which I hope may be finished in the same Time, and then I purpose to end my Campaign, God willing, and do myself the Pleasure of seeing you in return. I can now add no more than that I am, with great Esteem and affection, D’r Friend,

“Yours affectionately

“B. FRANKLIN.”

The interesting account which we have had of Franklin’s military experience would not be complete without hearing from his autobiography, how it came to an end. He says:

“I had hardly finished this business and got my fort well stored with provisions, when I received a letter from the Governor, acquainting me that he had called the Assembly, and wished my attendance there, if the posture of affairs on the frontiers was such that my remaining there was no longer necessary. My friends, too, of the Assembly, pressing me by their letter to be if possible at the meeting, and my three intended forts being now completed, and the inhabitants contented to remain on their farms under that protection, I resolved to return; the more willingly as a New England officer, Col. Clapham, experienced in Indian War, being on a visit to our establishment, consented to accept the Command. I gave him a commission, and, parading the garrison, had it read before them, and introduced him to them as an officer who, from his skill in military affairs, was much more fit to command them

than myself; and, giving them a little exhortation, took my leave. I was escorted as far as Bethlehem, where I rested a few days to recover from the fatigue I had undergone. The first night, lying in a good bed, I could hardly sleep, it was so different from my hard lodging on the floor of a hut at Gnaden-Huetten, with only a blanket or two."

Colonel Clapham, only temporarily in command, was soon placed at the head of the regiment intended for the erection and occupancy of Fort Augusta. The last of his men left on April 19th. Captain Foulk then took charge of Fort Allen, and remained in command until relieved by Captain Reynolds, the latter part of June, 1756. This latter officer seems to have been either inexperienced in the handling of the rough men about him, or unable to do so. Among this class was his lieutenant, a man by the name of Miller, apparently of no principles, and without either desire or power to preserve discipline. The first exploit of this person, at Fort Allen, was in connection with Teedyuscung, who was the leader of the Delawares, under ordinary circumstances a typical Indian chief, brave, shrewd and dignified, but cursed with the red man's love of drink. Every effort had been made, in the spring of 1756, to effect a meeting between him and the Governor, at Easton, in the hope of accomplishing something which might lead to peace. This was finally accomplished, and the conference was mutually satisfactory. The chief promised to return to his people and use his influence with them favorably, and further agreed to the release of the English prisoners then in his hands.

Everything depended upon his speedy return, but no sooner had he reached Fort Allen, on his way back, when Lieutenant Miller took charge of him, plied him with

whiskey until he became drunk, and cheated him out of sixteen deer skins which Teedyuscung had intended as a present for the Governor. What effect this had in delaying negotiations at this time, and how many lives were sacrificed thereby, it is impossible to say.

Not only did Miller engage in the nefarious business just narrated, but the liquor which he sold the Indians seems to have been dishonestly taken from the government stores. With such an example before them it is not to be expected that the men under him would behave much better. Neither did they, for, in the beginning of August, while the Indians were still there, on their way back from the conference, one of the non-commissioned officers, Corporal Weyrick, committed a disgraceful act of rank insubordination, indeed one of actual mutiny.

Captain Nicholas Wetterholt, then at Fort Hamilton, was at once ordered by Major Parsons to proceed to Fort Allen and place Weyrick under arrest, as well as Lieutenant Miller, who had made no effort to suppress the mutiny. Learning what was in store for him the latter declared he would not submit to arrest, but the arrival of Captain Wetterholt speedily put a different complexion on affairs. The lieutenant was sent to Fort Norris, in the safe keeping of Captain Jacob Orndt, while Corporal Weyrick was lodged in the Easton jail on the evening of August 16.

The full account of the disgraceful transaction is given by Captain Wetterholt in the following report to Major Parsons:

“*Sir:*

“In the night of the 5th of August, Christian Weyrick, a Corporal, began to quarrel with the Indians, and threat-

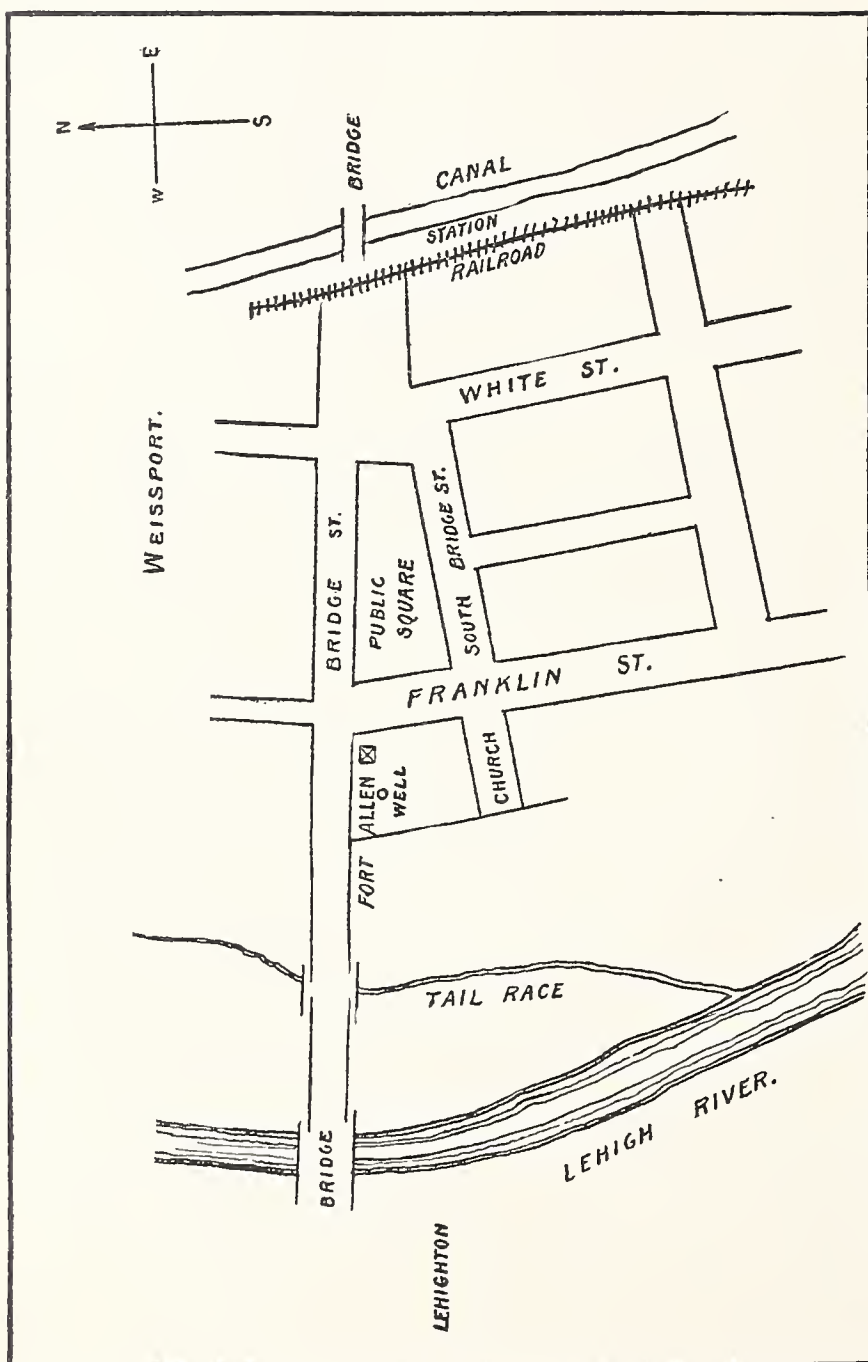
ened to drive them out of the Fort. The Lieut. persuaded him to forbear, but he seized the Lieut. & threw him on the Ground, and afterwards went to the Indian Squaws and behaved very indecently with them the whole night, and some of his comrades, One John White upbraiding him with it, he began to curse and attempted to tear him to pieces, when Philip Bortner stept out of the Guard Room and ask'd him if he was not ashamed to behave so, but he took him and threw him on the Bench, who calling out for help, Dewalt Bossing sprung between them, but he was not able to manage him; Then came Michael Laury, he struck him several Blows upon the Head, and thereupon they were parted; then he took a Gun and drove about the Fort like a Beast and not like a man, and struck down two of them, afterwards he laid hold of his cutlass and went into the Captain's House and pointed it out at the window; Then he took a Gun and snapped it twice, but it would not go off; Then he took another Gun, and that miss'd Fire also; then he laid hold of a Third Gun, which Capt. Foulk took from him; Then he seized another gun and went out of the House, and said one of the 4 Reading town Soldiers, or John White, should die, and shott at him; then he called to his comrades and told them they should not leave him, they would storm the Fort, and no man should live that Day; then he ran into the Captain's House and threw the Benches about from Top to Bottom, but there was no Body in the House but the Lieut. the Clerk and the Serjeant, they warned him, but it all helped nothing; Then the Serjeant Bossing went to the Guard and told them to take him into arrest, but they would not; Then he went and broke Stones from the Chymny Back and threw them in at the window, and cursed furiously, and said he would kill one of the 4 Reading town Soldiers, or would

stab or shoot Serjeant White; He behaved so violently that they were obliged to leave the Fort; He broke several Guns to pieces, and afterwards Michael Beltz, the Lieut., Christian Weyrick and Killian Lang, fetch'd water and put Rum in it, and washed their private parts therein. The 6th of Aug't the Ensign returned to the Fort and put things in better order. This is the Information from me, John Nicholas Widerhold, Captain.

“N. B. I have already acquainted Coll'o Weiser with the affair.”

One result of this occurrence was the transfer of Captain Reynolds from Fort Allen to the less important station of Fort Norris, and the ordering of Captain Jacob Orndt from Fort Norris to the command of Fort Allen, in the beginning of October, 1756.

True to his promise, upon his arrival among his people, Teedyuscung tried to influence them favorably with regard to the English. He was so far successful that it was agreed to release the prisoners and attend another conference in Easton. Accompanied by a number of their hapless captives the Indians started for that place, but were met by a rumor, as they approached Fort Allen, that the English intended to cut them off, and immediately stopped their journey, afraid to advance any further. The first duty, which confronted Captain Orndt upon his taking charge of Fort Allen, was to care for these Indians and see that they safely reached their destination. The conferences of 1756 were followed by those of 1757 and 1758 until, finally, peace became an established fact. Some account of these various treaties and talks will be given later. During all this time Fort Allen was visited constantly by the representatives of the different tribes, on their way to and fro.



In March, 1758, Captain Orndt had the fort placed in thorough repair. Soon after he was promoted to major and the entire district placed under his charge. At this time he was directed to notify the people of the frontiers to assemble in large parties during their harvesting, and provide each party with sentries for protection. He was also directed to see that the friendly Indians wore a broad yellow band around their head or arms to distinguish them from the enemy, and, accordingly, requested the Governor to send a supply of the same to Forts Augusta and Allen for distribution. He was succeeded in the command of Fort Allen by Captain John Bull, immediately after his promotion. Even as late as June, 1780, the fort was still in existence, and then occupied by Lieutenant Colonel Kern and one hundred and twelve men.

The site of Fort Allen, in Weissport, Carbon County, is now occupied by the "Fort Allen Hotel," which stands on the southwest corner of Bridge Street and Franklin Street, about one hundred and fifty yards east of the bridge across the Lehigh River to Lehighton. The old well is still in existence, although unused, and may be seen in the yard back of the hotel.

Captain, and, later, Major Jacob Orndt, the commander of Forts Allen and Norris, was a good officer and brave soldier. We are fortunate in having secured from members of the family some data with regard to him, which we deem worthy of reproduction in the following chapter, as further evidence of the work done by loyal Pennsylvania-Germans for their country.





CHAPTER XXVIII.

SOME ARNDT (ORNDT) FAMILY DATA.



JOHAN ARNDT at present residing in the Borough of Easton, in the county of Northampton, in the Commonwealth of Penna. who was one of the subscribers to this American edition of the Holy Bible do declare my wish and solemn desire that this valuable work consisting of two volumes shall, after my decease, go to and be considered the property of the eldest male branch of my posterity. With a most solom request that the same shall forever or as long as it will last go to and be considered as the property of my eldest male descendant, or in failure as such to the eldest male descendant of any of my daughters. Hoping that my posterity will pay so much respect to my memory and wishes that they will not by sale or barter or neglect ever part with the book and thereby violate my most sincere expectations, for verification of this intention I have herein put my signature which is well known to my present existing acquaintances. This 4th day of July in the Year of our Lord 1807

“JOHN ARNDT.

“As the above is my intention it occurs to me that it will be very natural for some of my family or posterity to express a wish to know something of mine and their ancestors. To comply with such a desire if it should ever exist in anyone I will endeavor to inform them the traditions that I recollect and some written documents that I now have by me where my ancestors emigrated from. Most of them were poor humble mechanics consequently lived in obscurity unnoticed by the bulk of mankind and if every one who is the temporary owner of this book will be at the trouble to make addition here to our posterity may be furnished with some sketch of genealogical information.

“The first ancestor I could hear from was Hanns Arndt a respectable farmer in the village of Warpen in the bailwick (Ant) of Coswig in the principality of Anhalt Terbts in Germany. He was the father of Martin Arndt who inter-married with Maria a daughter of Hanns Sager a respectable citizen of Terbts. They had an only son named Martin Conrad Arndt who in early life expressed an inclination to travel for which leave was obtained from his parents and before he departed from home a writing on parchment was given to him dated at Terbets 13 March 1678, which amongst other things certifies that he was born of good german blood and not of the Wenzischen what this distinction I was never informed of. This Martin Conrad it seems eventually settled himself then the Dukedon of Zweibenchen and in lawful wedlock he got two children. one a son named Bernhard and a daughter that was married to a Mr. Conrad the Grandfather of Frederick Conrad one of our late representatives to Congress. Bernhard Arndt became married to Anna Maria a daughter to Andress Decker residing in Corborn in said

Dukedom and settled himself in the borough of Daumholder in the Bailiwick (Ant) of Lichtenberg. In this marriage and settlement there is a circumstance that may appear very singular to a free born American citizen and under a belief that a short detail thereof may stimulate posterity ever give rational support to legal liberty without traveling into the wide fields of speculative and licentious proceedings which by the demagogues of the day are construed to be the rights of man. The village it seems where this Andres Decker was subject to a kind of villianage or Vassalage, something similar to the fate of a Virginia slave or negro who is transferred with the soil, which his master owns when he chooses to sell the same, therefore when my grandfather the said Berhard Arndt could remove his wife from Corborn to Baumholder he was under the necessity of purchasing her Manumission for a sum not known to me. The instrument of the Manumission bears date at Tweybrucken the 12th day of Feb in the Year of our Lord 1717. At Baumholder Berhard followed the trade of a shoemaker, and as his earnings furnished but a scanty supply for his family he frequently expressed a wish or inclination to emigrate to America, but his wife constantly refused and put a negative on his proposition, until to us a trifling circumstance occurred which was this. My Grandmother who was so adverse to give her consent to go to America had put a pig in her stable to raise and fatten for the express purpose to regale herself and children with a bountiful repast of meat diet, but before this took place one of the Princiesses of their Duke got married in consequence of which an extraordinary tax was prescribed to be laid on his subjects for the purpose of furnishing off the Princess and this was an extraordinary request or requisition no provision had

been made for the payment thereof and no other means were at hand to discharge the tax, but the sale of the pig fattening in the stable, after this instance no further objections were made to the proposed emigration to the land of liberty in America. Their preparations were made for the removal and at the end of April or the beginning of May in the year 1731 the family of my grandfather departed for their new country, consisting then besides the parents of two sons and one daughter. The eldest sons name was Abraham the second (my father) Jacob and Catherine. They came down the river Rhine and embarked at Rotterdam for America. On the voyage another son was born who they named Henry. They landed in Phila. paid their passage on for sometime settled in Germantown and from thence removed into (as I believe) the poorest soil of the then county of Phila. where my grandfather continued the occupation of a shoemaker and taught all his sons the same trade. And now as the children of my grandfather branched out into four different families I will confine myself to that of my grandfathers, only mentioning that Abraham married the amiable daughter of Phillip Reed by her had issue of sons and daughters. Henry married a woman whose name was Bender and the daughter Catherine was married to a man named Leidig which in the event proved rather unhappy. Leidig is dead and she is a pauper on the township, at the same time having a daughter married to one Kolb who is able but not willing to support her. My father one of the sons of said Bernard as I mentioned before was born at Baumholder on the 24 March 1725, and here he married Elizabeth the daughter of Jacob Gieger, who had emigrated from Germany. She was born Ittlingen in the bailiwick of Bretton in the Upper Palatine on the 20 Sept. 1726.

After marriage he purchased a farm in Rock Hill twp. in the county of Bucks, whilst he resided there the French war in 1755 broke out, when he quit the occupation of shoemaker and accepted a Captains commission in the provincial service and with his company was stationed at what was called the frontier, to check the incursions of the savage Indians in the stockade forts then called Norris and Allen. In the end he was promoted to the rank and command of Major and stationed at Fort Augusta (near the present Sunbury) and at the conclusion of that war when the Penna. troops were disbanded he was of course discharged from that military service. He then sold his farm in Bucks Co. and made a purchase of John Jones of a Mill and a farm on Bushkill Creek near Easton to and on which he and in the year 1760 removed his family consisting of five children besides the parents. I as the eldest was one, His daughter Elizabeth born the 29 Sept 1750 who was married to Jacob Shoemaker and departed this life on the 4th day of July 1797 leaving issue sons and daughters. Margaret born 29 July 1752 who departed this life in an unmarried state on the 11 day of in the year 1768. Jacob a second son 14 May 1756 who became inter-married with Elizabeth one of the daughters of Zacharias Nyce of the Co. of Montgomery and Abraham a youngest son was born Jan. 31, 1759 and was married to Ann one of the daughters of William Henn of Morris Co. of the state of New Jersey. After my father settled on his new purchase he used much industry and economy in improving the same as to building and so forth, and kept a strict family discipline (In my opinion rather too severe) and had all his children instructed in the German Reformed Protestant Christian Religion. God seems to have blessed his endeavors so that eventually he

could help his children to begin a living in the world. When the dispute between Great Britain and their colonies and now United States of America commenced he took an early and active part on the side of the Americans, at an expense of a great part of his property occasioned by the depreciation of then emissions of paper Bills of Credit. Having thus established himself to be what in those days was called a good Whig he was elected by his fellow-citizens of the County to represent them, first in the Convention that framed the late Constitution of Pennsylvania, and afterwards as a member of the House of Representatives and also of the Executive Council as by the public records will appear thus he continued to serve his Country and its cause until age and change of opinion in politics with the people made it desirable for him to retire from public to private life and enjoy the residue of his days as comfortable as could be expected. Thus he continued to reside at his Mill when after all his children had removed from him and kept their own families. My Mother departed this life on the 17th day of March in the year 1797 aged 70 years 5 months and 27 days. He shortly came to reside with his daughter and her husband Jacob Shoemaker and remained with them, until sometime after the death of his daughter when he removed to my family in Easton where he resided until his death which took place the 3rd of August 1805 aged 80 years 4 months and 10 days. As to myself I was born on my fathers farm in Rockhill twp. in the Co. of Bucks on the 5th day of June in the year 1748 and was from thence with the family removed to my fathers new purchase near Easton there I kept to a hard and laborious life. In the year 1774 I paid my addresses to the amiable Miss Elizabeth Feit one of the daughters of John Feit of Greenwich twp in the

Co. of Sussex in New Jersey and became married to her on the 13 Dec of the same year. With her I lived as happily as could be expected to fall to the lot of man, but alas this felicity was of short duration. On the 15 Jan. 1776, she was delivered of a female child which died the third day after its birth, and this was the first corpse that was interred in the family burying ground near the Mill, and then my good and much beloved wife soon after departed this life on the 31st day of the same month aged 17 years 8 months and 27 days and was buried besides the body of our child. Being this left without a family of my own I continued the occupation of Miller in my fathers Mill and the month of June 1776 when the affairs between this country and Great Britain began to come to a serious crisis I then at the request of the Committee of this county I consented to take command of a Co. of Rifleman as their Captain. In what was then called the "Flying Camp." This acceptance to such a hazzardous undertaking was owing to several inducements. Patriotism was the leading one. The next was that I would serve a grateful Country. In the last I was eventually convinced of my error for experience has taught me that there is no notion of such a thing as gratitude with the citizens of a Republican Government. I marched that Co. according to orders to different places and among the others to Long Island where on the 27 day of August we partook in the disgrace of a defeat by the superior force and discipline of the British forces. There by the shot of a small cannon ball I got wounded in the left arm which ever after deprived me of the use of the elbow joint. In the beginning of the year 1777 when the new Gov. of Penna. became organized I was by the Legislature thereof appointed Register of the Probate of Wills and Recorder of Deeds.

This appointment I accepted and was thereafter too delicate to solicit the pension I was entitled to on account of my being crippled. Thus I held said office with that of Justice of the Peace, the emoluments thereof at that time and during the war did not much more than compensate for the stationary that were needed for the use thereof. On the 12 day of August 1777 I became married a second time to Miss Elizabeth Ihrie one of the daughters of Conrad Ihrie. She was born in Forks twp. on the 6 day of April 1756, this as a second marriage proved as happy as could be expected. In this state we had the following named children Marie born March 6 1779, Susanna 2 Feb 1781, Elizabeth 14 Feb 1783, Jacob 27 April 1785 died August 6, 1806, Sarah 27 Feb 1787, John 21 May 1789 died Oct 29 1806, George Washington 25 June 1791, Annie 15 March 1794, Benj. F. 23 June 1796, Samuel 17 Aug. I continued to reside at the Mill until the 4 day of March 1796, on which day I removed my family to Easton into a house I purchased previously from my father-in-law Conrad Ihrie in which I continue to reside now. Here I continued to administer to the office of Register of Wills and Recorder of Deeds and Clerk of the Orphans Court in the discharge of the duties of those offices I have the consolation to declare that my official conduct was approved by the generality of citizens the widows and the orphans and particularly my own conscience. In the general election of the year 1799 when the Gov. term of the late Thomas Mifflin Constitutionally expired there were two candidates put in nomination by the citizens of Penna. for the high and important office of Governor of the State. The one was James Ross of Pittsburg the other Thomas McKean of Phila. Having had a personal acquaintance with both gentlemen in nomi-

nation my opinion was that James Ross was of the two the best person and if elected would be Governor of all the citizens in the State, the other would be that of a giddy headed party only under the circumstances I was led to believe that as a citizen of a Free Republic I was undoubtedly entitled to the freedom of choice. I did so and voted for James Ross, by doing so the event proved I was in the minority and had thereby in the opinion of the successful candidate committed an unpardonable crime. Which all past services entailed danger and wounds for the establishment of our independence and the blessings of a Republican Government and also the upright discharge of our official duties could not wipe out. This supposed Gov. McKean would sooner pardon a man guilty of murder or treason than him that did not vote for him. I consequently was marked out as one of the first victims of Democratic frenzy and zeal for the Giddy Party he had espoused and by dismissal from all public employment as soon as he was settled in the chair of Government convinced me that all my Revolutionary and their services were rendered to an unjust and ungrateful country. I can in truth inform the reader of this that I have derived as much consolation as I had chagrin and disgrace from my adherants in all changes of public opinion to the good old Washingtonian creed to which I mean to adhere to during life.

“SECOND PART.

“It now becomes my (Geo. W. Arndt) duty in compliance with my fathers request (after having concluded his life) to continue the present history confining myself mostly to such events immediately interesting myself. My father adhered to his political principles unchanged

through his life agreeable to his declared determinations. After being dismissed from office by Thomas McKean the Gov. he devoted himself to shopkeeping for support, a business in my opinion ranking no higher than the meanest proffession, but which he pursued until the Spring of 1813. He had long labored under bodily as well as mental affliction a depression of spirits, Hypochondria gradually working on his frame at length terminated his existance on the 6 day of May 1814. Having attained the respectable age of 65 years 11 months and 1 day. George W. Arndt the writer of the foregoing paragraph early in the year 1813 proceeded to settle on the estate lately occupied by his father and which afterwards became the joint patrimony of himself and his brother Benjamin, and therein with conjunction with his brother-in-law Charles Lombeart undertook the manufacturing of wollen cloth in connection with farming and milling. On the 27 of the same year he became married to Henrietta Byllbysby by whom he had the following children. Wellington born Feb. 28, 1814, Jackson Feb. 12, 1815, Susan and Eveline twins born Oct. 11, 1817, died Feb. 1, 1818 aged One year 3 months and 17 days. After an ill regulated pursuit of business for four years he was compelled to abandon it and in the year of 1817 he removed his family to Easton and continued without definite employment until July of the following year. He then determined to emigrating to one of the western states in the hope of retrieving his fortunes, his patrimony having been wholly disapaited or insolved and accordingly set out on a tour with the intention of selecting a spot for the purpose, having passed through the countries bordering on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers he finally arrived at the city of New Orleans where in a few days he was attacked by the un-

healthfulness of the climate and after lingering nearly six months he died there on the 29 of June, 1819. Aged 28 years 4 days. Thus terminating an unimportant life marked with much indescresion and misfortune.

“CAPT. JOHN ARNDT.

“A battle occured on the 27 of August which the Americans were beaten and forced to retreat which they did in a masterly manner. On the 29 of August the Americans loss of killed was upwards to 1000 men. One of the companies was commanded by Capt. John Arndt of Forks twp. Mr. Arndt lost many of his men and he himself was severally wounded. Col. Peter Kichline was with Mr. Arndt and were taken prisoners. Capt. John Arndt after his release from confinement returned to Easton in Sept. 1790 and was appointed a Commessary with David Deshler for the supplying the sick and disabled troops with the necessies of life. The services of John Arndt during the Rev. were mentioned in a publication in 1799 and says that it is well known that John Arndt turned out in 1776 a time which tried mens souls and assisted in toil and danger against the British foe. Got wounded and crippled and declined soliciting for a pension which by law he was entitled to. Accepting an office in this county in the conduct of which he was know to of been the true friend of widow and orphan. In 1777 he was appointed Register of Wills Recorder of Deeds & etc and Clerk of the Orphans Court, and the most efficient of the Committee of Safety. In 1783 he was elected a representative in the Council of Censors to propose an amendment to the Constitution of Penna. In 1783 Dickenson College at Carlisle was incorporated of which Mr. Arndt was appointed

one of the Trustees. He was chosen one of the electors of the President and Vice-President of United States and cheerfully gave his vote for the illustrious Washington. During the war he advanced money out of his own private funds toward the recruiting service thus practically illustrating his devotedness to the cause. The exigencies of the State were then so great that actions testing the patriotism of the citizen favorable to liberty were called for continually, their lives and fortunes were to be risked and John Arndt was not found wanting. The following is a letter from John Reed President of the Executive Council of the State of Penna.

““In COUNCIL PHILA. April 2, 1781.

““Sirs:—

““Your favor of the 25ult has been received and we are much concerned that the Treasurer of the County is unable to answer the draft and the more that it is not in my power to send you the money, the State Treasurer has not 10 pounds in the State Treasury. We hope you will have patience to bear with some difficulties and we will do all in our power to relieve you.

““Yours

““JOS. REED,

““*President.*’

“During the insurrection of 1779 by John Freas, Jarrett Haaney and others his utmost exertions were used to preserve law and order. As a mineralogist and botanist he held no mean rank. His correspondence with the Rev. Mr. Gross and other clergymen show he was a pious man. In 1796 a law passed rendering it necessary that the County records should be at the County Seat or Town

which occasioned the removal from his Mill to Easton. On the election of Gov. McKean he was removed from office after which he devoted his life to mercantile pursuits until his decease in 1814.

“Jacob Arndt the father of John was born in Germany. His father named Bernhard. During the Indian wars he was in active service in 1755 as Capt. at Fort Allen near Mauch Chunk and in 1758 Major of the troop at Fort Augusta. His reports are found in Penna. Archives and other publications of transactions. During the war in 1760 Mr. Arndt purchased the Mill property about three miles above Easton on Bushkill Creek from John Jones and soon afterwards removed to the Mill. Easton was a very diminutive town when Mr. Arndt first visited it in 1760. He has engaged to meet Mr. Jones in Easton to receive the deeds of the Mill property when for that purpose he came to Easton and hitched his horse to one of the forest trees in the square and attended to his business and it did not appear to him that Easton was much of a place. In 1763 when the Pontiac Indian war commenced he was elected a Capt. by his neighbors, who associated themselves together to protect themselves against the savages under the following agreement. We the subscribers as undersigned do hereby jointly and severally agree that Jacob Arndt shall be our Capt. for three months from the date of these presents and be always ready to obey him when he sees occasion to call us together in pursuing the Indians or helping any of us that shall happen to be in distress by the Indians. Each person to find powder arms and lead at our own cost and have no pay but each person to find himself in all necesserys to which article covenant and agreement we bind ourselves in the penal sum of 5 pounds lawful money Penna, for the use

of the company to be laid out for arms and ammunition unless the person so refusing to obey shall have a lawful reason. Given under our hand and seal the 13 Oct, 1763 Signed by Jacob Arndt, Peter Seip, Michael Larvall, Amam Hay, Paul Able, and thirty four others. Mr. Arndt was elected with George Taylor, Peter Kickline, John Obely and Lewis Gordon to the Convention to the forming a Constitution of the State in 1774. In 1776 He was a member of the Executive Council of Penna. In 1796 he removed to Easton from his Mill. A copy of a letter from John Arndt to Dr. Gross Speaks of him respecting his health in 1803. 'It is tolerable for his age, but time has and continues to press bodily infirmities heavily upon him. His eye sight is almost entirely gone. His feet begin to get weak and cannot for a long time bear the weight of his body, but his appetite is good and for to live happily and content depends upon himself. He died in 1805.'"





CHAPTER XXIX.

FORT NORRIS.



THE next defensive station erected by the Government was some fifteen miles east of Fort Allen, between it and Fort Hamilton at Stroudsburg.

It will be recalled that, on January 26, 1756, Franklin reported that he expected, the next day, to send Orndt and Hays to build this fort, and hoped it would be finished in a week or ten days. It was named after Isaac Norris, Speaker of the Assembly, he who directed that there should be cast on the State House bell of 1752 the words "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof." When completed it was placed under command of Captain Jacob Orndt, who occupied it with his company of fifty men.

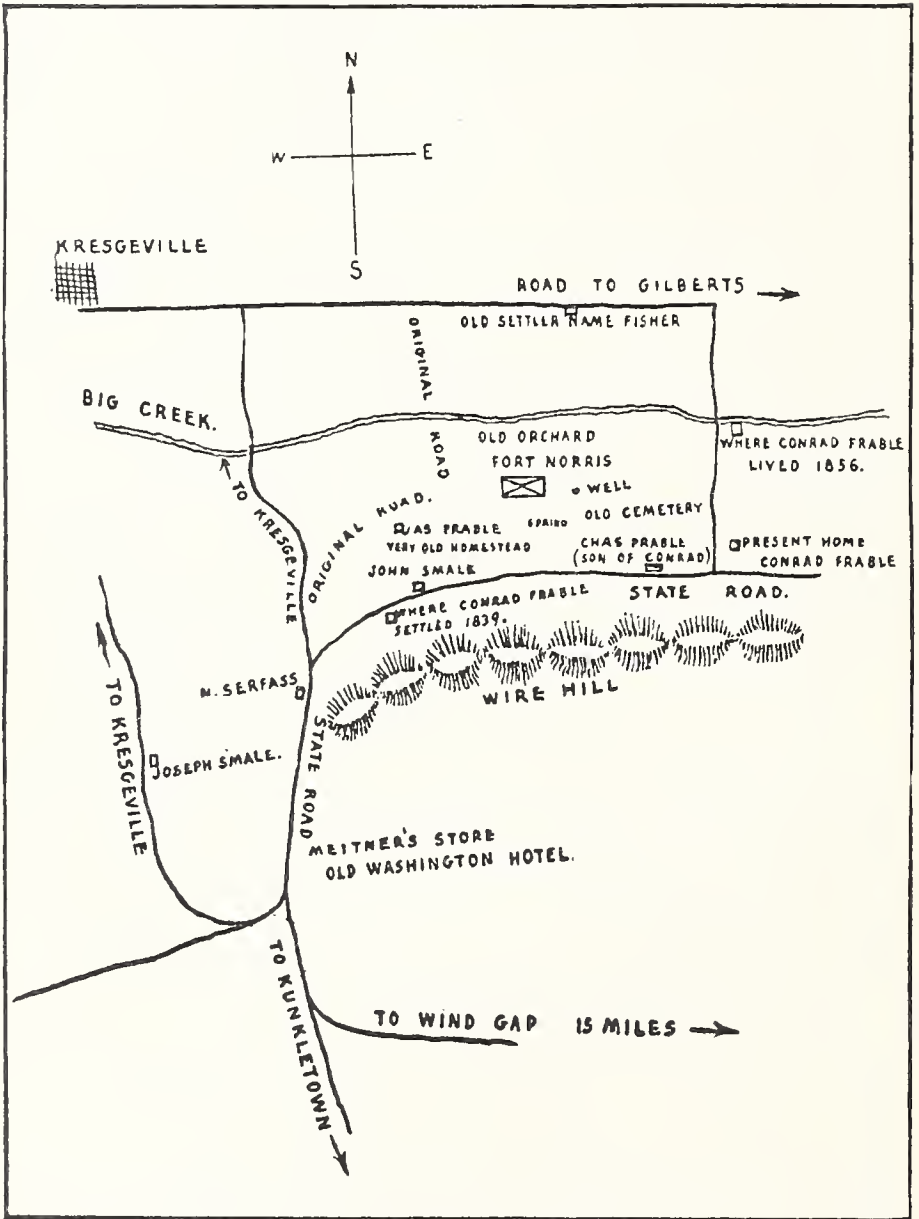
Commissary of musters, James Young, on his tour of inspection, reached the place on June 23, 1756. His report about it reads as follows:

"Fort Norris—At 11 A. M. Came to Fort Norris, found here a Serjeant Commanding 21 men, he told me

the Ensign with 12 men was gone out this morning to Range the woods towards Fort Allen, the capt'n was at Philad'a since the 16th, for the peoples pay, and the other Serjeant was absent at Easton on Furlough Since the 20th. This Fort Stands in a Valley, ab't midway between the North Mountain, and the Tuscorory, 6 miles from Each on the high Road towards the Minisink, it is a Square ab't 80 f't Each way with 4 half Bastions all very Compleatly Staccaded, and finished and very Defenceable, the Woods are Clear 400 y'ds Round it, on the Bastions are two Sweevle Guns mount'd, within is a good Barrack, a Guard Room, Store Room, and Kitchin, also a Good Well—Provincial Stores, 13 g'd muskets, 3 burst Do, 16 very bad Do, 32 Cartooch boxes, 100 lb. Powder, 300 lb. Lead, 112 Blankets, 39 Axes, 3 Broad Do, 80 Tamhacks, 6 Shovels, 2 Grub Hoes, 5 Spades, 5 Drawing Knives, 9 Chisels, 3 Adses, 3 Hand Saws, 2 Augurs, 2 Splitting Knives.

“At 1 P. M. the Ensign with 12 men returned from Ranging, they had seen nothing of any Indians. I mustered the whole 34 in Number Stout able men, the En'sn has no Certificates of inlistments, the arms Loaded and clean, the Cartooch Boxes filled with 12 Rounds p'r man. Provisions at Fort Norris, a Large Quantity of Beef Very ill cured Standing in Tubs, a Quantity of Biscuit and flower, & ab't 50 Gallons Rum.

“23 June, Fort Norris:—At 2 P. M. Capt'n Weatherholt came here to us, he had been on his way to Phil'a, but the Messinger I sent last night (from Fort Lehigh) overtook him 8 miles from his Station, he brought me his muster Roll of his whole Comp'y, and Certificates of Inlistments, and proposed to go with me to Sam'l Depues, where his Lieu't and 26 men are Stationed, to see them



SITE OF FORT NORRIS.

Muster'd. I accepted of his Company. At 3 P. M. we sett out from Fort Norris on our way to Fort Hamilton."

The reader will doubtless be struck with the excellent condition in which Mr. Young found everything at Fort Norris. This was not a matter of mere chance, but was owing to the fact that Captain Orndt was a most excellent and capable officer. The high esteem in which he was held by the Government is evidenced by his transfer to the important station at Fort Allen, after the acts of mutiny and insubordination which occurred in Captain Reynold's company, and his subsequent promotion to the rank of major.

In October, 1756, the command of Fort Norris devolved upon Captain Reynolds, who was succeeded, the latter part of May, 1757, by Lieutenant Engle, who was still there on February 28, 1758, during the inspection of Major James Burd.

It stood near the place where occurred the Hoeth massacre during the outbreak of hostilities. It was distant about four hundred yards from the Big Creek, formerly Hoeth's Creek, or Poco Poco Creek, some three-fourths of a mile from the present Meitner's Store, five-eighths of a mile from the house of Nathan Serfass, one and one-eighth miles in an air line from Kresgeville, Monroe County, and about three miles or more from Gilberts.

In addition to the murders which took place during December, 1755, which have already been related, many other sad events occurred in the vicinity of Fort Norris, which adjoined the headquarters of the Minisink Indians. As they covered the whole territory between Fort Norris and the Delaware, and were closely identified with the defenses around Stroudsburg, they will be related under that head.

DEFENSES NEAR WIND GAP.

Some fifteen miles from Fort Norris is the peculiar cut in the mountains called "Wind Gap." At the lower end of the town of the same name, called Woodley, stands the "Woodley House," on the site of the old Heller inn, a public house erected as early as 1752. About three miles south of this hotel we come to Miller's Station, on the Bangor and Portland Railroad, quite close to which is the junction of the roads leading, respectively, to Nazareth, Easton, Stroudsburg, Ackermanville and the Wind Gap. The necessity for some protection and defense, at the spot where these important highways came together, was apparent. Accordingly, the home of Mr. Tead or Mr. Dietz was occupied by a detachment of Captain Nicholas Weatherholt's command, and it became known as "Deedt's Block House," "Tead's Block House," "Teet's House," etc.

It stood about 350 yards east of the present railroad station, on low ground, which, about 75 feet distant to the south, rises to an elevation of some 50 feet. Near the base of the elevation is now a spring house, distant about 125 feet from the site of the block house. In olden times this was ground of a more or less marshy character.

Exactly when the soldiers first occupied it we are not told. On April 20, 1756, we know that Ensign Sterling was stationed there with eleven men.

Commissary James Young, during his inspection of 1756 enters this item in his journal:

"25 June:—At 5 A. M. sett out from Depues for the Wind Gapp, where part of Capt. Weatherholt's Comp'y is Stationed, stopt at Bossarts Plantation to feed our horses, was inform'd that this morning 2 miles from the

here with 7 men at a Farm house, 4 only were present, one was gone to Bethlehem, with a Letter from the Jerseys on Indian affairs, one was at a Farm house on Duty, and one absent on Furlough from the 15'th to the 22'd, but not yet returned, I told the officer he ought to Esteem him a Deserter as he did, found here 6 Provincial Muskets, all good, and 6 Rounds of Powder and Lead for Each, I told Cap'n Weatherholt to send a supply as soon as Possible.

"At 3 P. M. Sett out from the Wind Gapp for Easton . . . at 6 came to Easton."

It is probable that a garrison was not maintained regularly at this station but merely furnished as occasion demanded. During the latter part of 1757 the people of the vicinity erected, for mutual protection, a block house of their own, which was used as a place of refuge, and stood at the top of the elevation, some seventy-five yards south from Tead's house. The direct occasion for the building of this refuge was because of the raid made by the Indians on the neighborhood in 1757. The greatest sufferer, during the attack, was Joseph Keller, who came to America from Germany in 1737. On September 15, 1757, his family, consisting of his wife, and two sons, were carried captives to Canada, his oldest son, a lad of fourteen, being killed and scalped. Mrs. Keller was eventually released and restored to her husband.

It was doubtless owing to these disturbances that a petition was sent to Governor Denny by the inhabitants praying that soldiers might again be stationed in their midst. In answer to this appeal Lieutenant Hyndshaw, of Captain Garraway's Company, with Ensigns Kennedy and Hughes, and thirty men, was ordered to "Tead's Block-house," which was once more occupied, for a while, during February and March, 1758.



CHAPTER XXX.

PETER DOLL'S BLOCKHOUSE.



IN his tour of inspection to Tead's Blockhouse, March 1, 1758, Major Burd makes mention of a station at Peter Doll's Blockhouse, which was close to the southern base of the Blue Range, between Little Gap and Smith's Gap.

Moore Township, of Northampton County, in which this defense stood, was equally unfortunate with other parts of the frontier, even if history, so far, has failed to make prominent its sufferings. In January, 1756, the Indians entered the township and committed a series of murders and depredations, firing the houses and barns of Christian Miller, Henry Diehl, Henry Shopp, Nicholas Heil, Nicholas Sholl and Peter Doll, killing one of Heil's children and John Bauman. The body of the latter was found two weeks after the maraud and interred in the Moravian burying ground at Nazareth.

This, however, was but one of the many like occurrences which kept the settlers in a constant state of alarm for

more than a year and a half, during which time they endeavored to defend themselves as best they could, or fled from their homes.

The discouraging outbreak, which took place during the summer and early fall of 1757, gave rise to the following petition:

“To the Honourable the Governor and General Assembly, etc:

“The Petition of the back Inhabitants, viz’t, of the Township of Lehigh situate between Allentown and the Blue Mountains, in the County of Northampton, most humbly Sheweth;

“That the said Township for a few years past has been, to your knowledge, ruined and destroyed by the murdering Indians.

“That since the late Peace (temporary cessation of massacres in the early part of 1757) the said inhabitants returned to their several and respective Places of abode, and some of them have rebuilt their Houses and Out-houses, which were burnt.

“That since the new murders were committed some of the said inhabitants deserted their Plantations, and fled in the more improved Parts of this Province, where they remain.

“That unless your Petitioners get Assistance from you, Your Petitioners will be reduced to Poverty.

“That the District in which your petitioners dwell contains 20 miles in Length and eight miles in Breadth, which is too extensive for your Petitioners to defend without you assist with some Forces.

“That your Petitioners apprehend it to be necessary for their defence that a Road be cut along the Blue Mountains, through the Township afores’d, and that several

Guard Houses be built along this said Road, which may be accomplished with very little cost.

“That there are many inhabitants in the said Township who have neither Arms nor Ammunition, and who are too poor to provide themselves therewith.

“That several Indians keep lurking about the Blue Mountains who pretend to be Friends, and as several People have lately been captivated thereabouts, we presume it must be by them.

“May it therefore Please your Honours to take our deplorable condition in consideration, and grant us Men and Ammunition that we may thereby be enabled to defend ourselves, our Properties, and the Lives of our Wives and Children, Or grant such other Relief in the Premises as to you shall seem meet, and your Petitioners, as in Duty bound, will ever pray.”

FORKS OF DELAWARE, OCT'R 5TH, 1757.

Peter Barber,	Christian Miller,
Jacob Buchman,	Christian Laffer,
Jacob Aliman, Sen'r,	Henry Beck,
Jacob Aliman, Jr.,	Nich's Schneider,
Adam Freisbach,	Peter Schopffell,
Jacob Bricker,	William Beck,
Michael Keppel,	Henry Diehl,
Peter Doll,	John Bethold,
John Kannady,	John Remberry,
William Boyd,	John Dorn,
Jacob Musselman,	Fred Eissen,
Jacob Letherach,	James Hutchinson,
Henry Frederick,	James Rankin,
Schobety,	Paul Flick,
William Best,	Peter Walcker,
Jacoob Haag,	Nich's Fall,
Geo. Haag,	Adam Kramler,
William Detter,	Henry Lutter,
Nich's Schneider,	Nicholas Roth,
Geo. Acker,	Nich's Heil,

Jacob Fry,
Martin Sigel,
Christian Andreas,
Bath'w Rivel,
George Altmar,
Jacob Altmar,
Bernard Kuntz,
Bernard Reiss,
Samuel Pern,
Jean Pier,
George Wannemacher,
Valentine Waldman,
John Fried,
Jost Triesbach,
Fred Altimus,
Philip Tromin,
John Schlegel,
Henry Schubp,
Fred. Nagel,

Simon Trumm,
Henry Lieud,
John Detter,
Adam Marsh,
Peter Eissenman,
Peter Anton,
George Meyer,
John Scheier,
John Gress,
Christopher Feuchtner,
Conrad Geisley,
Jacob Kropff,
Jacob Roth,
Jacob Death, or Rodt,
Henry Flach,
Henry Creutz,
Michael Rieb,
Simon Triesbach,
William Kannady,

"These are to certify that we have impowered Frederick Eissen to give in this, our Petition to the Honour'bl the Governor and the Assembly.

"The foregoing and within writing was translated from the German Paper writing herto annexed, by me,

"PETER MILLER."

This very proper and deserving petition seems to have met with prompt recognition and action. To a certain extent, at least, better communications were opened up along the base of the mountains, and several stations were selected to be garrisoned by provincial troops and used for defensive purposes. In this instance they were generally private residences, or buildings already in existence. Amongst them was the dwelling of Peter Doll, whose name appears on the petition just given, and who was amongst the sufferers in the raid of January, 1756. He was most likely the Johannes Peter Doll, who arrived at

Philadelphia in the ship "Samuel," and was qualified on August 30, 1737. On the original list his name is given as we have it, simply Peter Doll. His age was then twenty-four.

We are unable to name the exact date on which the troops occupied this station, but Adjutant Kern, in his report of February 5, 1758, gives Lieutenant Snyder, of Captain Davis' Company, as on duty at P. Doll's Blockhouse, with twenty-five men. Under date of Tuesday, February 28, 1758, Major Burd says:

"Arrived at Lieut. Ingle's at 4 P. M. (Fort Norris); ordered a Review Immediately . . . , arrived at Lieut. Snyders' Station at 7 P. M. (Peter Doll's Blockhouse), 8 miles, ordered a review tomorrow morning, here I stay all night.

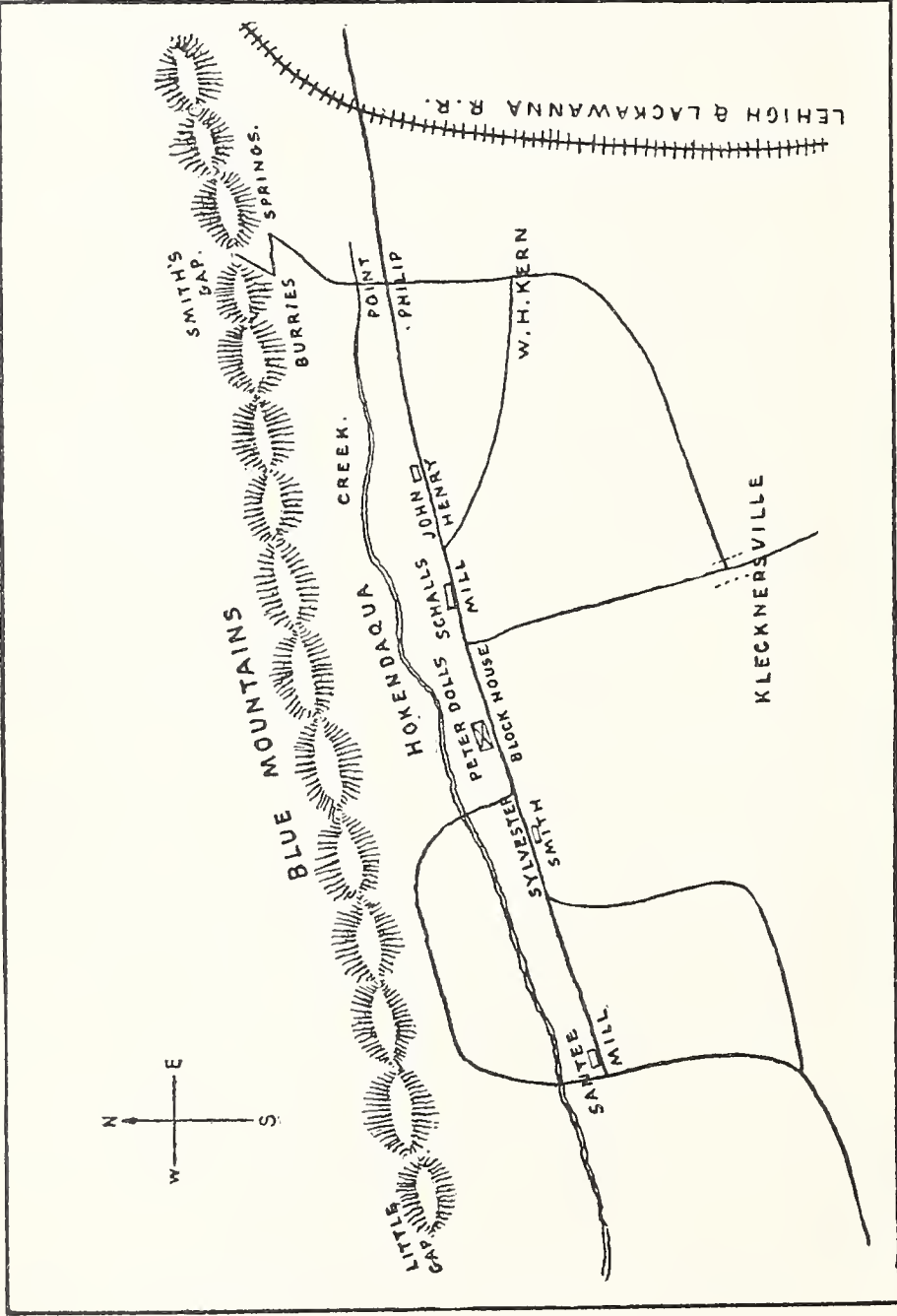
"March 1st, Wednesday.

"Reviewed this morning & found here Lieut. Snyder & 23 men, undisciplined, 15 lb powder, 30 lb lead, no blankets, 8 Province Arms bad.

"Lieut. Humphreys relieved Lieut. Snyder this morning, ordered Lieut. Snyder to his post over Susquehanna.

"I am informed by the officers here, Lieut's Ingle & Snyder, that ——— Wilson, Esq'r, a Majistrate in this County, has acquainted the Farmers that they should not assist the Troops unless the officers Immediately pay & that said Wilson has likewise informed ye soldiers they should not take their Regimentalls, as it only puts money in their officers pockets. I have found a Serg't confined here on acc't of mutiny, and have ordered a Regimentall Court Martiall this morning; at this Station there is two barricks, no stockade.

"Marched from hence to Lieut. Hyndshaw's Station



SITE OF PETER DOLL'S BLOCK HOUSE.

at 10 A. M., arrived at Nazareth at 1 P. M., here dined, 8 miles. Sett off again at 2 P. M. arrived at Tead's at 3 P. M., 6 miles."

Peter Doll's Blockhouse stood on the road running along the base of the mountain, or near it, and along the Hockendauqua Creek. It was some three-eighths of a mile west from the mill now occupied by James Scholl, Sr., which stands at the intersection of the road to Klecknersville, distant from this place one and one-fourth miles. The whole locality was the scene of numerous murders and depredations. In the earlier times it was the site of many Indian villages, relics of which have been frequently discovered.

FORT HAMILTON.

We now come to the Delaware River, in the vicinity of the present town of Stroudsburg, not then, however, in existence. It was this territory which the Minisink, or Monsey, tribe of the Delaware nation occupied, whence its name, which was adopted by the Dutch who first settled there, and in common use at the time of the Indian hostilities.

When Franklin and Hamilton went to the front to organize a systematic plan of defense, the latter took direct charge of the construction of those forts which were to be located on or near the Delaware River, then not only a populous district but most important from a military standpoint.

Immediately after his arrival at Easton, on December 23, he wrote as follows to Governor Morris, reporting the lamentable condition of affairs, as he had learned of them:

“EASTON, Monday Evening, Dec’r 25, 1755.

“*Dear Sir:*

“The Commissioners came to this Town on Saturday Evening, where we found the Country under the greatest Consternation, everything that has been said of the distress of the Inhabitants more than verified upon our own view. The Country along the River is absolutely deserted from this place to Broadhead’s, nor can there be the least communication between us and them but by large Parties of armed Men, everybody being afraid to venture without that security, so that we have had no accounts from thence for several days. Broadhead’s was stoutly defended by his sons and others, till the Indians thought fit to retire without being able to take it, or set it on fire, tho’ they frequently attempted it, it is thought several of them were killed in the attacks, but that is not known with certainty.

“We have now here upward of 100 men, being the Companies of Capt’n Aston, Captain Trump, and Capt’n McGlaughlin, and are impatiently expecting more from below, for the people here are not very numerous, & are besides very backward in entering into the Service, tho’ the Encouragement is great, and one would think they would gladly embrace the opportunity of revenging themselves on the authors of their ruin; but the terror that has seized them, is so great, or their Spirits so small, that unless men come from other parts of the Province, I despair of getting such a number here as will be sufficient to Garrison the Block Houses we propose to build over the Hills, whither we intended to have gone tomorrow, but that our Provision Waggon is not come up, and that we have not men enough for the above mentioned purposes.

“I understand that Aaron Dupui is still at home & that it is very unlikely that he will be able to leave his House in this time of Distress, to carry your message to Wyoming, so that I believe the Expectations of the Treaty will fall to the Ground, nor does any body either here or there believe we have a single Indian that may be called a Friend, nor do I see a possibility of getting that message conveyed to them from hence, even supposing they were friends; everybody is so afraid of stirring a step without a strong guard.

“I heartily wish you were at Liberty to declare Warr against them, and offer large rewards for Scalps, which appears the only way to clear our Frontiers of those Savages, & will, I am persuaded be infinitely cheapest in the end; For I clearly foresee the expense of defending ourselves, in the way we are in will ruin the province, and be far from effectual at last, principally for want of a Good Militia Law by which the men might be subjected to discipline, for at present they enter themselves and then leave their Captains at their own humour, without a person in the officers to punish them for that or any other misbehaviour.

“I have commissioned several Captains here, who engage to raise men, but principally two, who have undertaken to range the country between the two Branches of this River, for the Security of the two Irish Settlements in the hope that those who had defected by the whole of those on the main Branch, may be induced to return to their Plantations, which after all I very much question, so very great are their apprehensions of the Indians.

“I cannot say for certain when we shall leave this place, that depending on the coming up of the Provisions and our getting a sufficient number of men; many of those

already here not being able to march for want of shoes, which has obliged us to send down for a Supply to Philadelphia.

"I have but a moments time to write, the Express being ready to depart. I shall from time to time keep you informed of anything that may be worth your notice, but at present nothing offers.

"I am, with great Respect, Sir, Your most obed't Servant

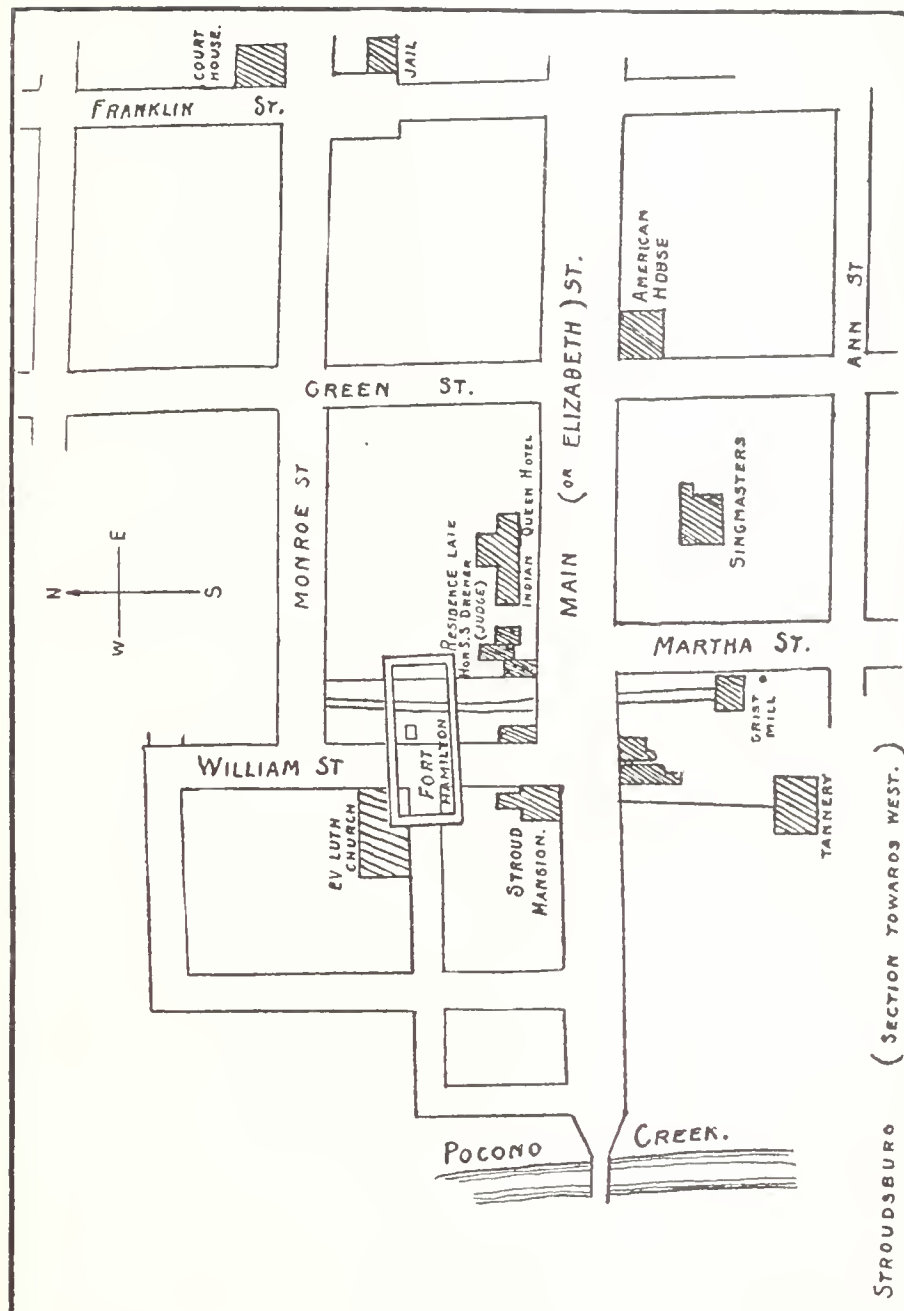
"JAMES HAMILTON."

Immediately after this letter to the Governor on Christmas, Captains Trump and Ashton were dispatched to the place where Stroudsburg now stands, and ordered to erect the first of the line of defenses there contemplated. The work, however, progressed slowly, partly because of a lack of tools, which the people in the neighborhood failed to supply as had been expected, and partly because of the season of the year. It was finished, however, about January 20, 1756, and named after James Hamilton, who succeeded Governor Denny as Governor of the Province, his commission being dated July 19, 1759, though not presented by him to the Council until November 17 of the same year.

Upon the completion of Fort Hamilton Captain Trump was ordered to commence the erection of Fort Norris, and appears to have been relieved by Captain Craig, who is reported on duty April 20, 1756, with 41 men.

Commissary James Young makes the following report concerning Fort Hamilton:

"24 June 1756—Fort Hamilton. At 4 A. M. sett out from Bosarts, at 6 came to Fort Hamilton at ab't 7 miles from Bosarts, a Good Waggon road, and the Land



better than any I had seen on the N'o side of the mountain. Fort Hamilton stands in a Corn Field by a Farm house in a plain and clear country, it is a Square with 4 half Bastions all very Ill contriv'd and finish'd, the Staccades open 6 inches in many Places, and not firm in the ground, and may be easily pull'd down, before the gate are some Staccades drove in the Ground to cover it which I think might be a great Shelter to an Enemy, I therefore order'd to pull them down, I also order'd to fill up the other Staccades where open. . . .

"I found here a Lieu't and Eight men, 7 were gone to Easton with a Prisoner Deserter from Gen. Shirley's Reg't."

The corn field in which Fort Hamilton then stood is now in the western section of the town of Stroudsburg, just north of the old Stroud mansion standing on the northwest corner of Main and William Streets.

How long Captain Craig remained in command we are not told. From him it passed under the charge of Captain Nicholas Weatherholt, and in April, 1757, we learn that Captain John Van Etten was given command of it in addition to Fort Hyndshaw. Captain Van Etten then passes from the scene and Lieutenant James Hyndshaw, of Captain Weatherholt's Company, is in command of both forts on October 11, 1757, with seventy-two men under him.

Gradually the fort seems to have become abandoned. During his tour, in 1758, Major James Burd turned aside in March to look at it and "found it a very poor stockade, with one large house in the middle of it & some familys living in it."

During the entire winter of 1756 rumors and intimations were received that the Indians were preparing for

another attack on the settlers between Fort Norris and the Delaware River. After the threatening alarms came the dread reality in April, 1757. Various depositions of eye witnesses, to what occurred, have been preserved, and will now be given.

“DEPOSITION OF MICHAEL ROUP.

“The 24th day of April, one thousand, seven Hundred and Fifty Seven, appeared before me, William Parsons, Esquire, one of His Majesty’s Justices of the Peace for the County of Northampton, Michael Roup, of Lower Smithfield, in the said County, aged 52 Years, a Person to me well known and worthy of credit, and being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, did depose and declare, That His Neighbour Philip Bozart, being at Fort Norris last Saturday week, heard a letter read there, which was dispatched by Major Parsons to acquaint the Garrison that he receiv’d Information that some Enemy Indians intended shortly to come and attack the inhabitants at and about Minisink and to desire them to be upon their Guard; which was soon made known to all the Neighboring Inhabitants. And this Deponent further saith, That on Friday Morning last John Lefever, passing by the Houses of Philip Bozart and this Deponent, informed them that the Indians had murder’d Casper Gundryman last Wednesday Evening; Whereupon This Deponent went immediately to the House of Philip Bozart to consult what was best to be done, their House being about half a Mile apart. That they concluded it best for the Neighbors to collect themselves together, as many as they could in some one House. And this Deponent further saith, that he immediately returned home and loaded his

waggon as fast as he cou'd with his most valuable Effects which he carried to Bozart's house. That as soon as he had unloaded his waggon he drove to his Son-in-Law Peter Soan's House, about two miles, and loaded as much of his Effects as the Time and hurry wou'd admit, and took them also to Bozart's, where 9 families were retired; That a great Number of the Inhabitants were also retired to the Houses of Conrad Bittenbender & John McDowel; That Bozart's House is 7 miles from Fort Hamilton and 12 from Fort Norris. And this Deponent further saith, that yesterday Morning about 9 o'clock the said Peter Soan and Christian Klein with his Daughter about 13 Years of age went from Bozart's House to the House of the said Klein and thence to Soan's House to look after their Cattle and bring off more effects. And this Deponent further saith, That about a half an hour after the above 3 Persons were gone from Bozart's House, a certain George Hartlieb, who also fled with his family to Bozart's and who had been at his own House about a mile from Soan's, to look after his Creatures and to bring away what he could, return'd to Bozart's and reported that he had heard 3 guns fired very quick one after the other towards Soan's Place w'ch made them all conclude the above 3 Persons were killed by the Indians. And this Deponent further saith, That their little company were afraid to venture to go and see what had happened that Day, as they had many Women and Children to take care of, who if they had left might have fallen an easy Prey to the enemy. And this Deponent further saith, That this morning 9 men of the neighborhood armed themselves, as well as they cou'd, and went towards Peter Soan's Place, in order to discover what was become of the above 3 Per-

sons. That when they came within about 300 yards of the House, they found the Bodies of the said Soan and Klein lying about 20 Feet from each other, killed and scalpt, but did not find Klein's Daughter. Soan was killed by a Bullet which enter'd the upper Part of his Back and came out at his Breast. Klein was killed with their tomahawks. The 9 men immediately returned to Bozart's and reported as above. That this Deponent was not one of the 9, but that he remained at Bozart's with the Women and children. That the rest of the People desired this Deponent to come to Easton and acquaint the Justice with what had happened. That the 9 men did not think it safe to stay to bury the Dead. And further this Depo-
nent saith not.

“The mark of
“MICHAEL X ROUP.”

In the above deposition mention was made of the murder of Casper Gundryman, who was doubtless the Andreas Gnudryman of whose death John Williamson gives this account.

DEPOSITION OF JOHN WILLIAMSON.

“On the Twenty-Second Day of April A'o D'i 1757, Personally appeared before me, William Parsons, Esquire, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Northampton, John Williamson of Lower Smithfield Township, in the said County, Yeoman, aged 48 Years, and being duly Sworn on the holy Evangelists of Almighty God, did Depose and Declare, That on Wednesday last, the 20th Instant, about Sun Sett, a certain Andreas Gundryman, a Youth about 17 Years of Age, went with two Horses and a Sleigh to fetch some Fire Wood, that lay

about 80 perches from Fort Hamilton, to his Father's House, ab't 10 perches from the Fort. That while the Young man was out as aforesaid, He this Deponent and several other Persons, who all live about 10 perches from the Fort, heard two Guns fired; Whereupon, Henry Gundryman (Father of the above named Andreas) and Conrad Friedenberg, one of the Garrison at Fort Hamilton, ran immediately upon hearing the Fireing towards the Place where Andreas was gone for the Fire Wood; some of the Soldiers and other Persons hearing him cry out, and seeing him run down the Hill towards the Fort. And this Dep't further saith, that about 300 yards from this Fort, they found the said Andreas Gundryman lying dead, and scalp'd quite to the Eyes. And this Deponent further saith, that he saw two Indians run up the Hill, from the place where Andreas lay dead. That the Indians did not hitt him with their Shott but as soon as they fired Andreas ran, and they pursued him with their Tomhocks and murdered him very barbarously, and as they went off sett up the Indian War Hallow. And this Deponent further saith, that early on the next morning the Father of the Deceased, with James Garlanhouse and one of the Soldiers, went and fetch'd the Corps, and the Garrison and Neighbors burried it about 30 perches from the fort. And this Deponent further saith, that a certain Isaac Randolph, a Soldier, being sent the same Ev'ning the murder was committed to acquaint Capt. Van Etten, at Fort Hyndshaw, of what had happen'd, return'd to Fort Hamilton and reported that in his way he had seen 6 Indians by a Fire, & ab' half way to Samuel Dupui's, which made him afraid to proceed further, and therefore he returned and reported as above. And this Deponent



ST. JOHN'S, N. B., 1842, SHOWING SITE OF OLD HAMILTON.

further saith, that he this Deponant that same Night went up to Fort Hyndshaw and acquainted Capt. Van Etten of what had happened, but saw no Indians in his Journey. And this Dep't further saith that the said Robert Ellis came to Fort Hamilton on Thursday morning, and reported that he had seen 3 Indians that same morning by a Fire on his Plantation, and when the Indians discovered him they left the Fire and went up a Hill. And this Deponent further saith that Capt'. Van Etten came on Thursday morning with as many Soldiers as could be spared from Fort Hyndshaw to Fort Hamilton and assisted at the Burial. And this Deponent further saith not.

“JOHN WILLIAMSON.”

Captain Van Etten, with his weakened and divided forces, had no light task before him. The neighbors, living about the fort, were gathered in and made to do duty with the soldiers. Notwithstanding all vigilance, however, the depredations, committed by the party of Indians then on their marauding expedition, did not cease with the events just related, as will be seen by the following deposition made by George Ebert, on June 27, 1757, which is especially interesting because in it we see the fate of some of those mentioned in the previous deposition of Michael Roup.

“Personally appeared before me, William Parsons, one of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Northampton, George Ebert (Son of John Ebert, late of Plainfield Township, in the said County, Yeoman, but now of Easton in the same County,) aged Sixteen Years, and being duly sworn on the holy Evangelist of Almighty God, deposeth and declareth That on or about the Second

Day of May last, He, this Deponent, with about Eighteen armed men, went with Two Waggons from Plainfield Township, to assist the Inhabitants of Lower Smithfield, who had a few days before been attacked by the Enemy Indians (and some of the Neighborhood murdered by the Savages) to bring off some of their best Effects. That about Noon of the same Day, they came to the House of Conrad Bittenbender, to which house divers of the Neighbours had fled; here one of the Waggons with about Ten Men, with this Deponant, halted to load their Waggon with the poor People's Effects; and the rest of the Company with the other Waggon went forward about a Mile to the House of Philip Bozart, to which place others of the Neighbours had also fled, with such of their Effects as they cou'd in their Confusion carry there. That this Deponant and Conrad Bittenbender, Peter Sheaffer, John Nolf, Jacob Roth, Michael Kierster, a certain Klein and one man (whose name this Deponant hath forgot) went about Two Miles into the Woods to seek the Neighbours Horses, whereof they found Six, and were returning with them to within half a mile of Bittenbender's House where they were attacked by Fifteen French Indians who fired upon them & killed Bittenbender, Jacob Roth, and John Nolf, as he believes, for that he saw Three fall, one dead, And took Peter Sheaffer, who received two flesh Shots, One in his Arm and the other on the Shoulder, and this Deponant, Prisoners; This Deponant received no Shot. And this Deponant further sayeth, That the Indians frequently talked French together; That they set off immediately with their Prisoners; That on the Evening of the next Day they fell in with another Company of about Twenty-four Indians who had Abram Miller, with his Mother, and Adam Snell's Daughter, Prisoners; The

Indians with their Prisoners marched in Parties as far as Diahogo; That at this Place the Indians separated, and about Eight, the foremost, took this Deponant and Abraham Miller with them, and they never saw any of the other Prisoners afterwards; That in their way on this side of Diahogo they saw Klein's Daughter, who had been taken Prisoner about a week before this Deponant was taken; That a Day's Journey beyond Diahogo they came to some French Indian Cabbins where they saw another Prisoner, a girl about Eight or Nine Years old, who told this Deponant that her Name was Catharine Yager, that her Father was a Lock Smith and lived at Allemangle, and that she had been a Prisoner ever since Christmas; That at this Place the Indians loosed the Prisoners, this Deponant and Abraham Miller, who they had bound every Night before; That finding themselves at Liberty, they, this Deponant & Abraham Miller, made their Escape in the night, and the next Day afternoon they came to French Margaret's at Diahogo, having been Prisoners Nine Days; That they stayed about four weeks with her, during all which Time she concealed them and supported them; That some French Indians came in Search of the Prisoners, whereupon Margaret told them it was not safe for them to stay longer, and advised them to make the best of their way homewards; That all the Indians at and on this side Diahogo were very kind to them, and help'd and directed them on their way; John Cook was particularly helpfull to them; That while they were at Diahogo they were informed that the Indians had killed Abraham Miller's Mother, who was not able to travel further, And J. Snell's Daughter, who had received a wound in her Leg by a Fall when they first took her Prisoner, but they heard nothing

of Peter Sheaffer; That in Three Days they arrived at Wyoming, by water, as Margaret had advised them; That at Wyoming the Indians directed them the way to Fort Allen, but they missed their way and came the road to Fort Hamilton, where they arrived last Sunday week. And this Deponant further sayeth, that the friendly Indian told them that the Enemy had killed Marshall's wife at the first Mountain, And further this Deponant sayeth not.

“the mark of
“GEORGE X EBERT.”

“N. B.—This Deponant saith that they understood by the French Indians That the'd Three Days further to go from the Place from whence They escaped.”

In addition to the murders already related it is said that two soldiers of the garrison were killed by a party of Indians in ambuscade, as they were walking among the scrub oaks on the brow of the hill, where the academy stood in 1845.

It will be noticed that these raids were made by the so-called “French Indians,” from the extreme western portion of the Province, and that the resident Delawares were inclined to be decidedly friendly, as a result of the peace conferences recently held with them.

From whatever source the marauding parties came, the danger and distress of the people were none the less great. The immediate result of the murders was a petition to Governor Denny, appealing for better protection, signed by twenty-one persons (names not given) who called themselves “the few remaining Inhabitants of the Township of Lower Smithfield, in the County of Northampton.”

After this the inroads of the savages became less frequent, so much so that by the spring of 1758 it was decided to abandon Fort Hamilton, and Lieutenant Hyndshaw, then in command, was ordered to Tead's Block House, for reasons already given. Hearing of this contemplated action the settlers sent the following petition to Governor Denny:

"The Petition of the Distressed Inhabitants of Lower Smithfield Township, in the County of Northampton, most Humbly Sheweth;

"That your Honours petitioners are under some apprehensions that the company of Soldiers, Commanded by James Hyndshaw, are to be removed from their present Station, and of our being left in a Defenceless posture; That your Petitioners have had Intelligence of a Body of upwards of Three Hundred French and Indians that are coming Down to Distress the Frontiers of this province, and as this part at present seems the most Defenceless, it is very probable that we shall be the first attacked; That your petitioners have at present but 12 men allowed by the province, which we Humbly apprehend Can afford us but little assistance; and further, we Humbly conceive that in case we were attacked by so large a party we must inevitably fall an easy prey to our Cruel Savage Enemy, unless your Honour is pleased to afford us a Reinforcement, which we flatter ourselves we are assured of, your Honour Having Hitherto since your Succession to this province, exercised a very Fatherly Care over us, for which we return our most Hearty thanks; and further, we being well assured that next to Divine Providence your Honour is our protector, we Submit our Circumstances to your Superior knowledge to act for us, who as Loyall Subjects

are Determined with your Honour's assistance to stand against any Enemy that may attempt to invade us, and your Honour's petitioners as in Duty Bound Shall ever pray."

Aaron Dupui,
John McMichael,
Daniel Shoemaker,
William Clark,
Samuel Dupui,
Daniel Broadhead,
Abraham Mullux,
Nicolas Miekele,
Leonard Weeser,
John Cambden,
Frederick Vanderliss,
James Hilman,
John Hilman,
William Smith,
John McDoull,

William McNab,
Edward Connor,
Robert Hanah,
Daniel McIntosh,
Michael Shouer,
John Williamson,
James Garlinghousing,
John Higgins,
Isaac Flack,
Enoch Freeland,
John Drake,
Jeremiah Flemmer,
Adam Snall,
Francis Delong.

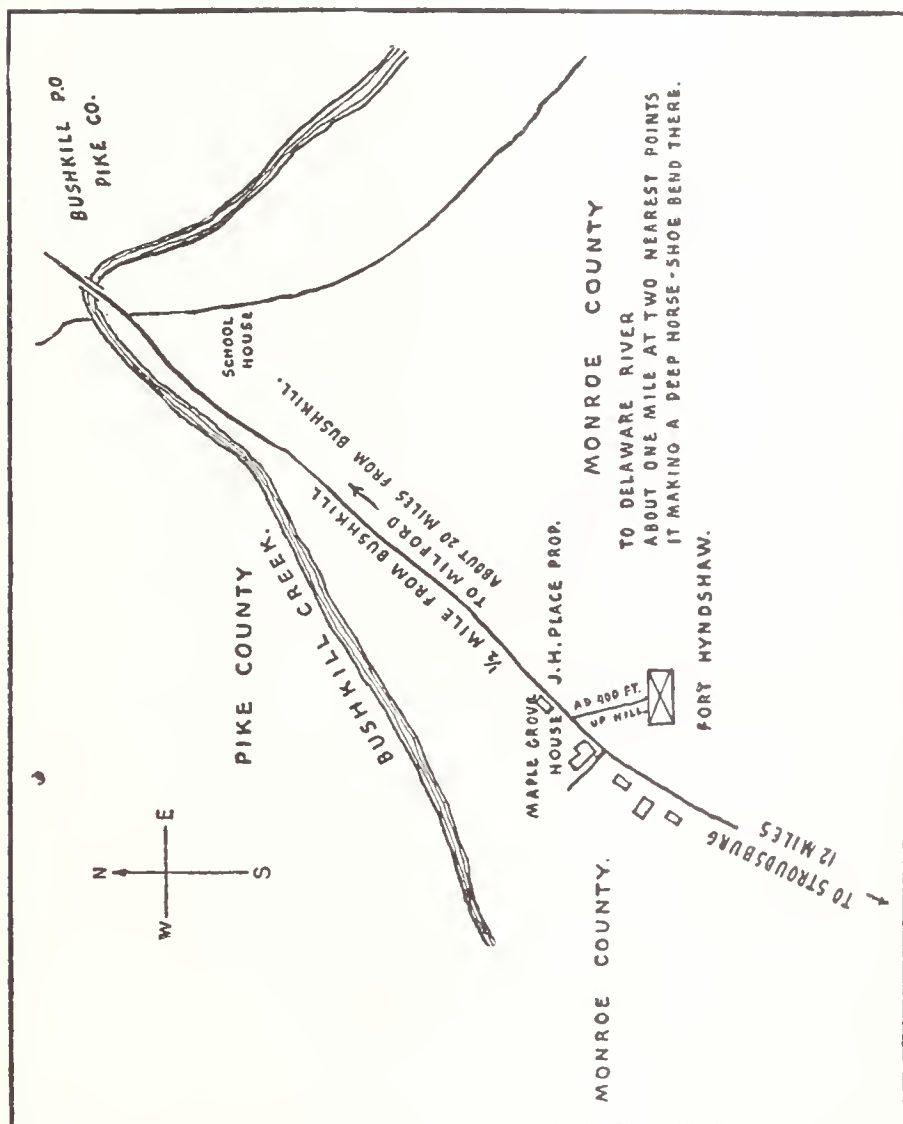
Fortunately, to a great extent the alarm was groundless. Arrangements were made for defense at Dupui's house, but, providentially, the cloud passed by without causing any destruction.

FORT HYNDSHAW.

In addition to the erection of Fort Hamilton it was felt that some defense was necessary for the protection of the residents of Upper Smithfield Township. Accordingly John Van Etten and James Hyndshaw, both residents of the vicinity, were commissioned as Captain and Lieutenant respectively, and, on January 14, 1756, directed by Benjamin Franklin to take such steps as might be necessary to carry out the object in view.

The erection of Fort Hyndshaw was doubtless a part of this work. Exactly when it was built we do not know. The first account we have concerning it is from Commis-

sary James Young, who visited it during his round of inspection. He says, writing from the "Fort 10 miles



SITE OF FORT HYNDSHAW.

above Depues, Commonly call'd Hyndshaw Fort":

"June 24, 1756.—At 8 A. M. I sett out from Fort

Hamilton for Sam'l Depues where Cap'tn Waetherholt's Lieu't and 26 men are Stationed, when I came there his Muster Roll was not ready. I therefore proceeded to the next Fort 10 miles higher up the River, at 1 P. M. Came there, it is a good Plain Road from Depue's, many Plantations this way, but all Deserted, and the houses Chiefly Burnt. Found at this Fort Lieut. Ja's Hyndshaw w'th 25 men he told me the Cap'tn with 5 men was gone up the River yesterday, and did not expect him back these two days, they had been informed from the Jerseys that 6 Indians had been seen, and fired at the night before 18 miles up the River.—Provincial Stores, 11 Good Muskets, 14 Rounds of Powder & Lead for 30 men, 4 lb Powder, 30 Blankets.

"This Fort is a Square ab't 70 f't Each way, very Slightly Staccaded. I gave some direction to alter the Bastions which at present are of very little use, it is clear all round for 300 yards, and stands on the Banks of a Large Creek, and ab't $\frac{1}{4}$ mile from the River Delaware, and I think in a very important Place for the Defence of this Frontier; at 3 P. M. I muster'd the people, and find them agreeable to the Lieu'ts Roll, Regularly inlisted. Finding here such a small Quantity of Powder and Lead, and this Fort the most Distant Frontier, I wrote a Letter to Cap'tn Arrend (Orndt), at Fort Norris, where there is a Large Quantity desiring he would deliver to this Fort 30 lb Powder, and 90 lb Lead, and I promised he should have proper orders from his Superior Officer for so doing, in the meantime my letter should be his Security, in which I hope I have not done amiss as I thought it very necessary for the Good of this Service.

"24 June.—At 7 P. M. Came to Sam'l Dupues. . . ."

The occurrences narrated under the head of Fort Hamilton apply also to the vicinity of Fort Hyndshaw. In addition there has been preserved the following journal of Captain Van Etten recording his doings in the neighborhood:





CHAPTER XXXI.

JOURNAL KEPT BY CAPTAIN JOHN VAN ETTEN, 1757.

Of all the Proceedings and Circumstances of Affairs, together with all Busnis and Scouting Done by said Company, from the 1st Day of December, 1756.



“ December y^e 1st, 1756.

“ 1. I went on Scout with the oldest Ser^t, to see if there ware indians on the Cost, but discovr^d none; we Returned safe to the fort.

“ 2. After Releaving Guard Im-
ploy^d the men in hallind firewood.

“ 3. Reliev^d Guard and kept the men about the Gar-
rison.

“ 4. and 5. Paid some of the men, and for some pro-
visions.

“ 6. Kept the men in their posts about the Garrison.

“ 7. I went on Scout with 2 men and made no Dis-
covery; Return^d safe to the Fort at Night and found all
in Good order.

"8. and 9. The men Divided, one part standing on Sentry while the other Cut and Hall^d firewood.

"10. I went out on Scout with one man and made no Discovery, and Return^d safe to the fort.

"11. The Lieu^t. went on his Journey to Philadelphia, in order to get the pay for my men for 3 months; the same Day, about 11 o'clock I went out on Scout with 6 men and Traveled four miles out making no Discovery, Return^d to the fort.

"12. Sunday and Rainy, we all staid at the Garrison.

"13. In the morning, after Guard Reliev^d, I went out with six men on Scout and one Neighbour, and Traveled eight miles out and made no Discovery, and Return^d to the Garrison all safe.

"14. After Guard Reliev^d I went out with four men on Scout, and sent two men with Jacob Swortwood to Guard him in fetching his Grane, where it might be thrash^d.

"15. I went with five men on Scout, and s^d Jacob Swortwood went again to his place with s^d Guard, it being about four miles from the fort. At night, when I returned, told me, that before he and s^d Guard came to the field they saw a small Stack of Rye set out in a Large Shock of 30 Sheaves on a side, and places Left in the middle to Soot out at, and a bee hive set on the top.

"16. After the Guard Reliev^d, I went with six men to the place, and order^d two men with the Wagons to come sometime after when I had surrounded the field, then to come and take their Loads which was Done, but no Discovery of the Enemy. I went then with two men through the woods and the rest of the men Guarded the Waggon, and we all returned safe to the fort.

"17. It snow^d; I made a pair of Mokesons for myself to Scout in.

“ 18. After the Guard Reliev^d I went to Scout with six men, and went about Six milds from the fort and found the Snow in many places half Leg deep; we Discovering no Enemy, all Returned safe to the fort.

“ 19. It was Sunday, one of the Corporals with 4 men went on Scout but made no Discovery, and all Returned safe to the Fort.

“ 20. It Snow^d, therefore we all kept the fort.

“ 21. The Corporal with 5 men hall^d firewood to the Fort, and I went with 3 men on Scout, and four milds out finding the Snow knee deep, but made no Discovery, and Returned to the fort after dark.

“ 22. After the Guard Reliev^d we cleared of the Snow round the Fort, in order to go to work to build a block-house.

“ 23. We all kept the fort.

“ 24. And to the end of the month, the Snow Rendering it unfit for Work or Scouting, we cleared the Parade and kept the men to their Exercise twice a day, in which time I paid of the men.

“ January y^e 1st, 1757.

“ 1. Reliev^d Guard and Exercis^d the men, and kept the fort.

“ 2. Sunday, kept the fort.

“ 3. Stormy weather.

“ 4. Kept the men to their Exercise.

“ 5. The same.

“ 6. Hall^d firewood for the fort.

“ 7. Exercis^d the men twice.

“ 8. Hall^d firewood, having the advantage of the Snow.

“ 9. Sunday, all kept the fort.

“ 10. I went on Scout with Six men, and Night on us we lodg^d at Daniel Shoemakers.

“ 11. Returned home to the fort.

“ 12. I went on Scout with 4 men, made no discovery, and all Returned to the fort.

“ 15. Hall^d firewood for the fort.

“ 17. I went on Scout with 5 men, Discovering nothing, Return^d to the fort.

“ 19. I, with the Leu^t, went on Scout with 6 men, and traveled 3 milds out, and Returned to the Fort, Discovering nothing.

“ 20. I went out on Scout with two men and made no Discovery; Return^d safe to the fort.

“ 21. Reliev^d Guard and kept the fort.

“ 22. I went out with one man on Scout about 7 milds from the fort, Discover^d nothing, and Returned safe to the fort.

“ 23. Receiv^d order from Hon^{bl} Cor^{ll}, Dated 16 Instant, that as soon as the Season would admit to Dissipline the men in the English Exercise, and to teach them the Indian method of war, the which was immediately observ^d and daily practis^d.

“ 30. Receiv^d Orders from the Hon^{bl} Cor^{ll} to Inlist men to fill up my Company, to consist of fifty men, Encluding 2 Serj^{ts}, 2 Corporals and a Drummer.

“ February ye 4th.

“ Then writ to Maj^r W^m Persons, Discovering the necessity we ware in of Ammonission.

“ 6. Receiv^d an answer with 29 lb of Lead.

“ 7. Kept the men to their Exercise as usual.

“ 9. Excessive bad weather.

“ 11. After Guard Reliev^d hall^d firewood.

“ 12. Snow, which made it unfit for Exercise.

“ 14. Kept the men to their Exercise.

“ 16. Hall^d firewood for the fort.

“ 17. The men Exercis^d twice.

“ 18. and 19. The same.

“ 20. Sunday, kept the Fort.

“ 21. Went out on Scout with 4 men, but finding it so uncomfortable Traviling, and making no Discovery, Return^d to the Fort.

“ 22. and 23. The men kept to their Exercise.

“ 24. After Guard Reliev^d hall^d firewood.

“ 25. Kept the men to their Exercise, and to the End of the month.

“ March the 1st, 1757.

“ At Eight O’c Reliev^d Guard and Exercis^d the men twice.

“ 4. After Guard Reliev^d, orderd the old Guard to Hall firewood for the fort.

“ 6. Sunday, Reliev^d Guard at 8 O’c and then Exercis^d the men.

“ 7. After Guard Reliev^d went out on Scout with ten men, Travil^d about Six milds, made no Discovery, and Return^d to the fort.

“ 9. Exercis^d the men twice.

“ 10. Exercisd the men twice.

“ 11. After Guard Reliev^d at 8 O’c, Hall^d firewood for the fort.

“ 12. After Guarde Reliev^d I went with Six men on Scout, and traviled about Six milds and made no Discovery, and all Return^d safe to the fort.

“ 13. Sunday, Reliev^d at 8 O’c, and all kept Garrison.

“ 14. After Guard Reliev^d went on Scout with 8 men, Discovering nothing Return^d to the fort.

“ 16. After Guard Reliev^d, hall^d fire wood for the fort.

“ 17. Dissiplind the men twice.

“ 18. After Guard Reliev^d I went on Scout with 5 men, made no Discovery, and Return^d to the fort.

“ 19. Reliev^d Guard, Dissiplind the men, and hall^d fire wood.

“ 20. Reliev^d Guarde at 8 O’c, and all kept the fort.

“ 21. Went on my Journey for Easton in order to attend Court, leaving the Charge of the Company w^t the Leu^t., and being Detaind by Reson of Bad weather I attended the whole term.

“ 28. I Return^d Safe to my Company at Fort Hyndshaw, finding all thing in good order and my men in health.

“ 29. Reliev^d Guarde and Dissiplind the men twice.

“ 30. After Guarde Reliev^d went on Scout with 4 men, and others imploy^d in halling fire wood for the fort.

April 1st.

“After Guard Reliev^d I went on Scout with 4 men, and went about 4 milds, making no Discovery Returnd to the fort.

“ 2. Reliev^d Guard and Disciplind the men.

“ 3. Sunday, Reliev^d Guard and kept the Fort.

“ 4. Dissiplin^d the men twice.

“ 5. Reliev^d Guard, then imploy the men in halling fire wood.

“ 6. Dissiplind the men.

“ 7. Rec^d an Order, dated March 28th, from the Hon^{bl} Cor^{ll} Wizer, commanding me immediately to Send an Atachment of men, 16 in number, to Relieve the Company station^d at Fort Hamilton.

“ 8. Took possession of s^d fort according to my orders, and the Company march^d of Leaving the fort in my care.

“9. A Coppy of a Letter from Maj^r Will^m Parsons, sent to then commander at fort Hambleton, I being there and no other. I open^d the same, and found it to be a Coppy from the original, sent by Jacob Snyder, Insign, being then Commander at fort Norris, with which I could not content myself, but went of immediately to Easton to see the Maj^r.

“10. Then spoke with the Maj^r at his own House, who order^d that the Leut^t., with 25 men of my Company, should immediately march to Riddin to the Cor^{ls}, there to Rec^d further orders.

“11. Return^d home to fort Hyndshaw, Receiving the Original of the Maj^{rs} order by the way, and acquainted the Leut^t. with the affair.

“12. Got the men ready for a march.

“13. Convey^d the Leut^t. with s^d Company as far as fort Hambleton.

“14. The Leut^t. march^d with said Company about Eight O’Clock in the morning from Fort Hambleton, and I Returned to fort Hyndshaw.

“15. Dissiplind the men.

“16. Went to see the Maj^r.

“20. Return^d to Fort Hyndshaw, visiting Fort Hambleton on my way, and found all things in good order at both Forts. The Night following an Express came from fort Hambleton to me at fort Hyndshaw, with an accom^t of a murder Committed about Sun set.

“21. Went to Fort Hambleton with 7 men, and found it to be one Countryman, a Lad of about 17 years of age, Kill^d and Scalp^d by the Indians, about 100 Rods from the fort Hambleton, which I took up and Buried the same day; Return^d safe with my men to fort Hyndshaw.

“22. Dissiplined the men twice.

“ 23. Imploy^d the men in halling firewood to the fort.

“ 24. Sunday, all Kept the fort.

“ 25. My Serj^t Leonard Den, with 2 men of for subsistence to Sam^l Depues, having got within about 2 milds of s^d depues, s^d Sej^t was shot, the 2 men Return^d and inform^d me of it, where upon an allarm was beat, and the neighbours all gather^d to the fort; myself with 7 men went of immediately and found him Kill^d and Scalp^d, and intirely Strip^d and shamefully cut, that his bowls was Spred on the Ground, I immediately sent of 3 men to s^d Depues for a Wagon, which being come we carried him to s^d Depues, where we kept guarde that night.

“ 26. Early in the morning we Buried him in a Christian manner, & all Return^d to Fort Hyndshaw.

“ 27. Dissiplind the men, increasing our Sentinels as far as our week circumstance would allow.

“ 28. Dissiplind the men, giving them such Causion as I thought needfull.

“ 29. and 30. Guarded the neighbours in their necessary busines, with all that could possibly Leave the fort.

“ May 1st.

“ Sunday, all Kept the fort.

“ 2. Dissiplind the men at 8 O^{'c} in the morning, then imploy^d the men in halling firewood for the Garrison.

“ 3. Dissiplin^d the men at 8 O^{'c} in the morning, then I went on Scout with 5 men, and traviled about 5 milds and Discovered nothing, and all Return^d safe to the fort.

“ 4. Dissiplin^d the men at 8 O^{'c} in the morning, then I went on Scout with 5 men, & traviled about 6 milds, Discovering nothing; all Return^d safe to the fort.

“ 5. About Eight in the morning, word came to me that an Indian was seen about 3 quarters of a mild from the

fort; I went out immediately in pursuit of them with Eight men & one neighbour, and found it true by seeing his track, but could not come up with him; but my men from the fort saw him Running from us at a Considerable distance from us, as they Likewise at the same time Could see some of my Company, as the few I left to Keep the fort affirm^d to me at my Return, but I seeing nothing of him Return^d with my men safe to the fort.

“The same day one of my men, coming from a field where I sent a Guard to Guard the neighbours at there work, saw three Indians coming down a mountain near s^d field, he gave me notice, I immediately went out with s^d man and 2 others in pursuit of them, not thinking it proper to go very far, the Garison being left very weak. I stood on guard with 2 men, while one went to allarm the Guard that was in the field, then Returnd to the fort, Discovering nothing.

“6. At Eight of the Clock Dissiplind the men, after which some of my men, who had observ^d the night before as they were on Sentury, that the Dogs Keep an unusual barking and running to a particular place, went to see what the occasion should be, and found that an Indian had stood behind a tree about 25 yards from the fort; being told I went to see and found it true, his tracks being visible enough to be seen; in the afternoon I went on Scout with 4 men and a neighbour, but made no Discovery, and all Returnd safe to the fort.

“7. The men call to their Exercise at the usual time, after which I went wth 4 men to a Smiths shop where we made an Instrument to take a Bullit out of my Horse, who was shot when Ser^t. Den was Kill^d and all Return^d safe to the fort.

“ 8. Sunday, assisted some of the neighbours with their Goods and families to the fort.

“ 9. Dissiplind the men, after which Guarded two of the neighbours in their necessary Bussiness, with what men could be Spaird, and continued the same to the

“ 15. Sunday, we all Kept the fourt.

“ 16. Tho weak handed, I went on Scout with 4 men, traviled about 4 milds, made no Discovery, and Return^d safe to the fort.

“ 17. Dissiplind the men at 8 O^c in the morning, then guarded the neighbours with all I could Spair from the fort.

“ 18. Exercised the men twice, and all kept the fort.

“ 19. After Exercising the men, Guarded the neighbours with all that could be Spaird from the fort.

“ 20. The Corporal, with 3 men, went on Scout by my order, traviled about 3 milds, mad no Discovery, and Return^d to the fort.

“ 21. Att 4 O^c, afternoon, Receiv^d a letter from Cap^t. Bussé to send a Corp^l, with 5 men, to meat him at Lest on the 22 day, to Guard him to fort Allin, which men Dispach^d in half an hour.

“ 22. Sunday, we few which Remaind all kept the fort.

“ 23. About 10 o'clock in the morning I receiv^d a Letter from Maj^r Parson, wherein he Desir^d me to come to Easton to Rec^e my pay, with the pay for my men; I having then but 19 men Left me to keep the Fort, I took the Case together with my men into consideration, who all Beg^d of me not to leave the fort, where upon I wrote to the Maj^r and Beg^d of him to Consider our Circumstance, and Excuse me untill the men Return^d.

“ 24. Dissiplind the Men at Eight in the morning, and all kept the fort, being week handed.

“ 25. I went on Scout with 3 men, and traveled about 3 miles in the mountains and Discover^d nothing; Return^d to the fort.

“ 26. Disciplined the men, and all staid about the fort.

“ 27. Disciplined the men twice.

“ 28. At 2 O’c, in the afternoon, the men, who with Comisary Young, from Easton to fort Allen, Return^d all in Health.

“ 29. Exercised the men, and all kept the fort.

“ 30. I went on Scout with 3 men, and traveled about 4 miles, discover^d nothing and Return^d to the fort.

“ 31. Disciplined the men at 8 O’c in the morning, afternoon went on Scout with 4 men, went about 3 miles from the fort, Discover^d nothing and Return^d to the fort.

“ June y^e 1st.

“ The Corporal, with 3 men, went on Scout, and gave account of no Discovery on their Return.

“ 2. Five men sent to Sam^l Depues for Subsistence, in the afternoon the fort alarmed^d by hearing several Guns fired, I immediately, with 3 men, went to find out the Reason, & found it to be some who unwittingly shot at fowle in the River. Our men all Return^d safe about Sunsett.

“ 3. I set off on my Journey for Philadelphia, about 4 O’ Clock in the afternoon, with 6 men as a Guard, and came all safe to Fort Hambleton, and found everything in good order there.

“ 4. At 8 O’c in the morning Disciplined the men, and gave strict orders to the Sergeant to keep the men Exact to their duty, and about 4 O’c afternoon I pursued my Journey.

“ 5. I lay sick by the way within five miles of Easton.

“ 6. Came to Easton and paid my Respects to Maj^r Persons.

“7. Notwithstanding the Ill Surcomstance of Body I was in I persued my Journey.

“8. About 4 in the afternoon I came to Philadelphia, and Deliver^d the Express sent to Maj^r Persons, just as it was sent to him to his Hon^r the Governor, who Desir^d me to wait on him at 12 O^c the next day.

“9. I waited on his Honour as was requested, the answer from Mr. Petters was that my Busines should be done the next day at 9 O^c in the morning.

“10, 11 and 12. I waited, but it was not done according to Expectation.

“13. About 3 O^c in the afternoon I left the Town.

“14. About two in the afternoon I came to Easton, I directly paid my Respects to Maj^r Persons, who told me I should take a Supply of Ammonicion, where upon I provided Sacks and took 100 lb of powder, 100 lb of Lead, and a 100 Flints, and also Rec^d a Coppy from his Honour, the Governors orders to Remove to fort Hambleton, and left Easton about 6 O^c and went about five milds.

“15. Came safe to fort Hambleton with the Ammonicion, about 6 O^c afternoon, and found all things in good order.

“16. At Eight O^c in the morning Displ^d the men and ordered them all to shoot at a mark at Armes End, and some of them did Exceeding well then; taking a Scort of men with me I went to Fort where we all arrived safe. I immediately call^d the men to Arms, and Ordred every one to get their Cloaths, and what ever they had, together as quick as possible, and be Redy to march to for Hambleton.

“17 and 18. After Dissiplining the men as usual, we made everything Redy for our march.

“ 19. About 9 O’c in the morning we all march^d from Fort Hyndshaw, with all the Baggage, and all arrived safe at fort Hambleton, and met with no opposition, and found all things in good order there.

“ 20. At Eight in the morning call^d the men under Arms, and after Exercising the men, order^d out Six men on Samuel Dupues Request, to Guard him in taking his wife to the Doct^r, at Bethlehem, who tarried all night at s^d Depues; the same day I went on Scout with 4 men and one neighbour to git acquainted with the woods, as also to See if any Discovery could be made of the Enemy, but made no Discovery and Return^d to the fort.

“ 21. At 8 O’c Exercis^d the men, about 12 O’c the Guard, with s^d Depue & wife, came to the fort; then order^d a Guar^d of ten men, who went of under the Care of a Corporal with s^d Depue with orders, that after they had Guarded s^d Depue as far as was needful, to Carry a Message from me to the Maj^r, at Easton and to Return as soon as Dispatch could be made.

“ 22. Exercis^d the men that Remand at the fort as Usual; nothing Extreordinary hapned, so all kept the fort.

“ 23. In the morning, near Eleven O’c, the fort was allarm^d by some of the neighbours who had made their escape from the Enemy, five of them in Company near Brawdheads house, seeking their horses in order to go to mill, was fir^d upon by the Enemy, and said that one of them, John Tidd by name, was Kill^d, whereupon I immediately Draughted out 9 men, myself making the tents, in as private a manner as possible, and as privately went back into the mountains in order to make a Discovery, giving Strict orders to those left to fire the wall peace to allarm us, if any attact should be attempted on the fort in my absence there, but Six men left at the fort, and coming in

sight of s^d house, on the back side Perceiv^d a small smoke arise at s^d House, then traveling about a Quarter of a mild in order to surround them, we heard four Guns, the first of which being much louder then the rest, Expected the fort was attacked, where upon we Retreeted back about a Quarter of a mild, and hering no more Guns, my Councel was to go to the House, but my pilot, who was well acquainted with the woods, thought it best to place ourselves in ambush, for they would come that way, he said; and as we ascended the mountain in order to place ourselves we saw the house in a blaze, and the pilot thought best to Retire a little nearer the house and the fort, where we might have a better view, and in the Retreet we heard 14 Guns fir^d as Quick after each other as one could count, then we plac^d our selves in two Companies, the better to waylay them; the party that was nearest between the house and the fort soon saw 27 Endeavouring to git between them and the fort, I, with the other party saw 5 more coming on the other side, we found that we were discover^d and like to be surrounded by a vast number, wherefore we all Retreted and got between them and the fort, then hauling they came in view. I then Calinged them to come, and fir^d at them, and altho at a Considerable distance, it was Generally thought one of them kill^d, by ther Sqootting and making off, then we all Retir^d to the fort; Immediately upon our Return, a Scout of 13 men from the Jarsey, who were in search of Edw^d Marshals wife, who was kill'd some time ago, came to the fort, being brought there by seeing the smoke and hearing the Guns fir^d, who all seem^d forward to go after them, where I, with my nine men, went out with them, but having got some distance out they would go to the house to see whether the s^d man was kill^d. Being come, we found him Kill^d

and Scalp^d, his Body and face Cut in an inhuman manner, Cattle also lying dead on the Ground, where upon they all went of and left me with my small number to take care of the Dead man; whereupon we took him up and Returned to the fort, in which time my men that went to Easton Return^d to the fort.

“24. Att about nine in the morning, having made redy, I went with 18 men and buried the man, then went from the grave in search and found 15 Cattle, Horses and hogs dead, besides two that was shot, one with 5 bulits, the other with one, and yet there are many missing, out of which the Enemy took, as we Judg, the value of two Beaves and almost one Swine—in the Evening sent an Express by two men to the Maj^{rs}.

“25. Disciplined the men, nothing Extraordinary hapned, all Kept the fort that night; the two men that went with the Express to Easton Returnd in safety to the fort.

“26. Early in the morning Rec^d the Maj^{rs} Letter, wherein he show^d himself very uneasy that the men from Fort Norris had not Joyn^d me, and Desir^d me to send to fort Norris to know the Reason; and thinking it might be occasion^d for want of Cariages to bring their Stores, Desir^d me to indeavour to send a Wagon theather, accordingly as I was indeavouring all I could in compliance of the Maj^{rs} Desire, about 3 O^c in the afternoon, Lieu^t. Hyndshaw came to the fort with ten men from Cap^t. Weatherhold, and Six from Fort Norris, showing his order from Cor^{ll} Weiser, for him to Command Fort Hamilton, and for me to abide with a small number of men at Fort Hyndshaw.

“27. At Eight in the morning call^d my men under Armes as usual, and Draughted out Eleven men and sent them under the care of a Corp^{ll}, with 3 neighbours, in

search of some Cattle, which they fear^d ware taken or Kill^d by the Enemy, at which time the Lieu^t. undertook to talk with me, and propos^d to me that if I would Let him have Six out of the men I had with me, to Joyn the men he had from Cap^{tn} Weaterhold, he would go to Fort Hyndshaw and stay there untill further orders, and Leave the Six men he brought from Fort Norris with me, which I could not Comply with, as not being in my power, having mov^d to Fort Hamilton by his Honours, the Governors order, there to be reinforce^d by a Detachment from Fort Norris, then to stay untill further orders, at which the Lieu^t. went off with a Sej^t, and a waiting man he brought w^t him from fort Auguston, and left the 16 men he brought under no bodies care; the Scout which went out all Return^d safe to the fort, finding what they went in search of, all well.

“28. After Exercissing my men as Usual, I sent out a Scout of 12 men under the care of Serj^t., who travild Six milds out, and all Return^d safe to the fort, making no Discovery. I being not fully satisfied on the acc^t of the men Left with me, whome I could do no less to then feed and Give them their proper allowance of Rum, wherefore I wrote to the Maj^r, laying the Circumstance of the matter as plain as possible befor him, Desiring his advice what to do in the Case, the which I sent of in the Evening by the Serj^t. and one man with him.

“29. After Exercising the men I sent of Six men, under the Care of the Corporal, with Six of those men which the Lieu^t. left, who voluntarily went to assist and to Guard one Peter Snyder, in taking of some Cattle whome he had, fled of and Left some time ago, least they should be Kill^d by the Enemy; in the Night the Serj^t, w^t the man that went w^t him Return^d safe from Easton, with a letter from

the Maj^r, wherein he advis^d me to put the s^d men on duty which was left w^t me, and where as he Expected Cor^l Weiser to be hare in a few days, to keep the fort untill he came, also Desir^d me to Endeavour to hasten Lieu^t. Engles march to fort Hambleton.

“30. I put the men left w^t me on duty in the afternoon, the men that Guarded Peter Snyder all Returnd safe to the fort.

“July 1.

“In the morning Call^d my men under Armes, Draughted out ten men whom I sent under the Care of the Serj^t, with nine of those men the Lieu^t. left at the fort, whome I orderd where and how far they should travil on Scout, the which they perform^d and Return^d about one, after noon. About one O’c, after noon, the Lieu^t. came past the fort, stoping at John McMackills, soon after Came to the fort and show^d an Order from Cor^l Weiser, that I should Resign the Command of Fort Hambleton to him, upon which I Call^d my men under armes, and as I was sending for the Lieu^t. to Give up the Command to him, the Centunal hearing musick, acquainted me with it; I Expecting it was the Cor^l coming, delaid untill the Cor^{tl} came, who weighing the Circumstances of things, continued me in possession of s^d Fort.

“A True Journal of All Transactions in Captain John Van Etten’s Company from the Second Day of July.

“July y^e 2d, 1757.

“At Eight in the morning the men called to armes, at which time the Cor^l took a view of the men and their arms, and finding all in good order, after Giving Orders for the Regulation of the Company about 12 o’clock, the

Cor^l with his attendance marched off, after which we all kept the fort.

“3. All Kept the Fort it being Sunday.

“4. After Disciplining the men a party of twelve men under the Command of a Serj^t sent to Sam^l Depues with a Team for Necessary Subsistance, and all Returnd safe to the fort in the evening according to orders.

“5. Very Rainy Weather unfit for Scouting or Exercise, all kept the fort.

“6. At Eight in the Morning calld the men to their Exercise, and Gave the men necessary Council how to behave according to the Orders Given to me by the Cor^l, at which time Complaind was made to me by some of the men that some of the Neighbours which Resided in the fort ware Lousey, by which means the whole Garrison would be in the same condition. I then Orderd the Corp^l with 3 men to assist him to make a search, and found that one Henery Countryman his family, and one John Hillman and his family ware Lousey, I ordred them out of the fort to their own house, it being but about 8 or 9 Rods from the fort, then Imployd the men to Clean the fort within Doors and without, which was accordingly done, also sent out a scout of four men with 3 neighbours who voluntarily went in hopes to find some Cattle they had missing to Return the same Day, which they did in the Evening all safe to the fort, making no Discovery of any Enemy.

“7. At Eight in the morning I calld the men to their Exercise then Devided the men into two Guards, Each Guard to stand their Day, those that ware not on Guard to be imploy'd in Scouting, Guarding the Neighbours and in things necessary to be done about the fort, and gave strict orders to those that ware on garde that they should

not Leave their post nor go from the fort, and that Every Sentunal should behave well on his post, about one o'clock after noon having occasion to go to John McMickles, saw John Jough Coming out of the woods with hooppolls on his Sholder, who was one of the Guarde, Immediately the Corp^l came to s^d house, I then went home, and finding the Glass ran out I examined the matter and found that the Sentunal had stood his proper time out and ought to be Reliev'd. I therefore calld the next man on the List and see to his Relieff myself, the men that ware not on Guarde I imployd in banking up the Earth against the Stockaders to prevent the waters Settling and running into the well which I found to be the Ocasion that the water was so bad in the well.

"8. At Eight in the morning Relievd Guard, after which I imployd the old Guard in clearing out the well.

"9. After Guard Relievd, a scout of ten men with the Serj^t went w^t some of the Neighbours to Mr. Broadhead's place, who went on Necessary Busines and met no opposition, and all Return'd safe to the fort.

"10. Sunday, a scout of 6 men went to Sam^l Depues on Necessary Busines, on their Return said they heard a person whistle, which was supposed to be an Indian, but see nothing, all Returnd safe to the fort.

"11. After Guarde Relievd, the Serj^t with the old Guarde ten men Set out on Scout to travil South-East, and as far as to Return by night which was performd, Meeting no Opposition nor Discovering any Signs of the Enemy all returnd safe to the fort.

"12. At Eight in the morning calld the men to their Exercise and Relievd Guards, after which upon John McMickels Impertunity ordred ten men as a Guarde, where he was Cutting his harvest some Distance from the

fort, with whom I went mySelf and placed them to the best advantage I could ordering none to fire his Gun except at an Enemy, and that 3 Guns should be an Allarm, they meeting no opposition all returned safe to the fort.

“13. After the men exercised and Guard Repiev'd, it was my intent to Guard John Mc Mickle as the Day before but his Son in Law Coming from a Long Journey or voiage Detained him from Labour, wherefore I then took the Old Guard consisting of ten men and three Neighbours, with whom I went on Scout Directing my course about 5 miles from the fort, and from thence west 2 miles, thence by Judgment northerly so as to come to the fort in which way we came by the Sepperates Meeting house, where we found the Enemy had Lodgd not long since, they Leaving a Bed of Fern even in the pulpit, But meeting no oposition all returned safe to the fort.

“14. At Seven in the Morning call'd the men to their Exercise & Reliev'd Guard, I then went with John Mc Mickle and ten of my men as a Guard, to Guard said Mc Mickle and men Imploy'd at his harvest, posting five men a Small Distance from the field, which I thought best to discover the Enemy if any Should attempt to fall upon the people at work, the other five I posted in the field, about 3 o'clock afternoon I went w^t the Corporal Round to the Sentunals as privately as we could and found them all on their guard.

“15. It being very Rainey unfit to be out with arms we all kept the Fort.

“16. The Rain Continueing until near 12 o'clock I then went to John Mac Mickle and ask'd him wheather he was Redy to go to his harvest, But I saw no preparation or Inclination for it, wherefore I went to the fort intending to go on scout with a part of the men after

Dinner, but before we ware redy four men came to the fort with an order from Cor^{ll} Weiser, dated June 14, 1757, the Contents were as followeth, that he had Sent Orders to Lieu^t Hyndshaw to attend the Treaty with the ten men of Cap^t Weaterholts Company with him who ware then at Fort Hyndshaw, and Orderd me therefore without fail to send ten men from fort Hamilton to replace those Ordered away, where upon I immediately draughted out nine men, the Corp^{ll} making the tenth whome I sent off to the Lieu^t the same day, as soon as possably they could make them Selves Redy which was in about half an hour after Receiving the Cor^{lls} Orders Under the Cair of the Corp^{ll} with Orders to the Lieu^t, to station them as he thought fit, the which he posted at Sam^{ll} Depues.

“ 17. Sunday, seven of my small party of men left with me with four neighbours went on scout under the Command of the Serj^t, who Traveled South-westerly about six miles, then taking a Compass northerly all returned safe to the fort making no Discovery of any Enemy.

“ 18. At Eight in the morning I went with five men and guarded John McMickle at his harvest placing 3 Sentunals a small Distance from the field, and two in the field with the men at work, they meeting no Opposition all returned safe to the fort.

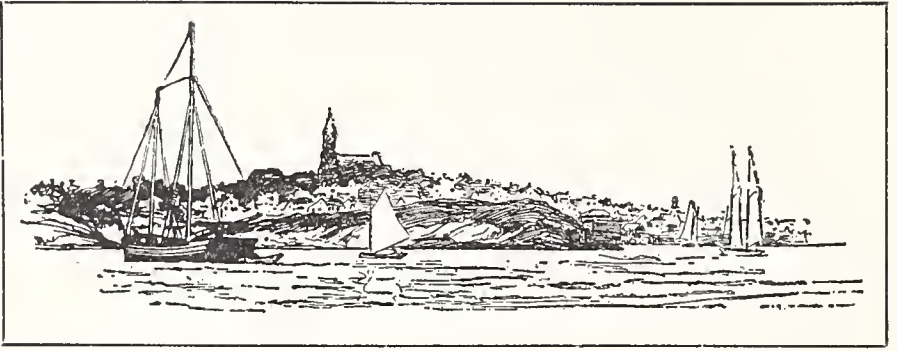
“ 19. Early in the morning one Garrit Bradhead applied to me for a guard to which I told him I would do for him what Lay in my power with the few men I had, I then ordred five men under the Cair of the Serj^t & went my Self with one man to accompany me to the fort, and placed the Sentunals in the best manner I could for Safty, Leaving orders with the Serj^t that firing 3 guns should be an allarm, and then returned to the fort, and tended guard unti' ye Second Double Sentury.

"20. Guarded s'd Bradhead as the day Before, and all returnd safe to the fort.

"21. In Compliance with the Cor^ls order early in the morning I sent to Sam^l Depues for the he had in keeping in order to send my message to the Cor^l at Easton, who returnd with sd Mare safe in the Evening also 4 men Guarded John Drake at his harvest with orders to give an account of what hapnd, which was all was well, but as to their behaviour after their coming to the fort, I shall acquaint the Cor^l of the matter."

With this diary ends our history of Fort Hyndshaw. It is probable that it was abandoned as a defensive station even before Fort Hamilton, and with the gradual approach of peace, there only remained for it to stand as a silent memento of the terrible events of the past.





CHAPTER XXXII.

DUPUI'S FORT.



THE oldest settlement in Pennsylvania was, most likely, that at the "Minisink Flats," along the upper Delaware above the present town of Stroudsburg. Those who settled there came from New York Province, by way of the road, one hundred miles long, which had been opened from Esopus (now Kingston) to the Mine Holes on the Jersey side of the Delaware River near Stroudsburg. The settlers consisted, principally, of Dutch, with a sprinkling of Germans and other nationalities. It was by mere chance that the tide of German emigration from New York Province into Pennsylvania was diverted from the Minisink to the Tulpehocken region. A full account of this interesting subject will be found in the publications of the Pennsylvania-German Society, Vol. IX.,

Among those who came to this locality, somewhat later, was Samuel Dupui, a Huguenot Frenchman, who settled

originally at Esopus, there married a Dutch girl, and, some time prior to 1725, came to the Minisink region. He purchased a large portion of the level lands on which the present town of Shawnee is situated, of the Minsi Indians in 1727, and likewise two large islands in the Delaware—Shawano and Manwalamink. Subsequently, in 1733, he purchased the same property of William Allen. Here, on the Delaware River, five and one-half miles from where the present town of Stroudsburg stands, Dupui built a log house, his first home, which was afterwards replaced by a stone house, of spacious size, and which he occupied at the outbreak of Indian hostilities in 1755.

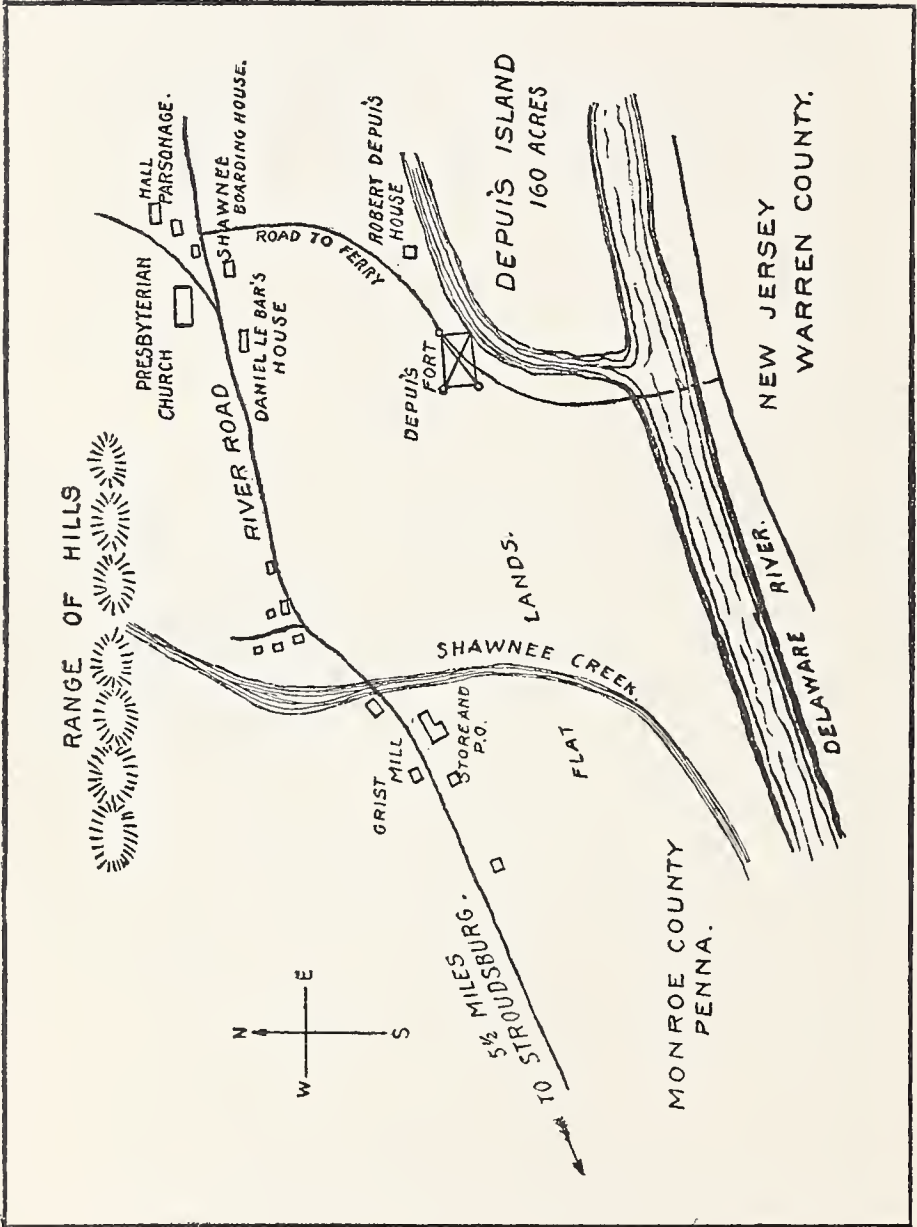
Prominently situated, as it was, just beyond the mountain, where it commanded the populous region above, as well as the district below, with the approaches to Easton, Bethlehem, etc., it was but natural to occupy the building at once, especially as its substantial character, in itself, made it an admirable place of defense and refuge.

It stood about two hundred feet west by south from Mr. Robert Depuy's present farm house, on the road leading from the main road to the ferry. From here the main road runs in a westerly direction to Stroudsburg, five and one-half miles, and the Delaware Water Gap, and in a northeasterly direction to Bushkill, by the river, where stood, formerly, Fort Hyndshaw. There was an old spring on its site, and numerous relics have since been found on the spot which corroborate the location given.

As early as December, 1755, Captain Isaac Wayne was temporarily on duty at the place, but was soon relieved by Captain Nicholas Wetterholt, who remained in charge.

This is what Commissary Jas. Young has to say about it, when he reached it on his tour of inspection:

“June 24, 1756. . . . At 7 P. M. Came to Sam'l



SITE OF DUPUI'S_FORT.

Depues, mustered that Part of Capt'n Weatherholt's Comp'y that are Stationed here, a Lieu't and 26 men all regularly Inlisted for 6 months as are the rest of his Comp'y; Round Depues house is a Large but very Slight and ill Contriv'd Staccade with a Sweevle Gun mounted on each Corner. M'r Depue was not at home, his Son with a Son of M'r Broadheads Keeping house. They express'd themselves as if they thought the Province was oblig'd to them for allowing this Party to be in their house, allso made use of very arrogant Expressions of the Commissioners, and the People of Phil'a in General; they seem to make a mere merchandize of the People stationed here, selling Rum at 8 d p'r Gill.—Provincial Stores, 13 G'd Muskets, 3 Cartooch Boxes, 13 lb Powder, 22 lb. Lead."

Mr. Young's criticism of the family is hardly fair, and was doubtless occasioned by some little occurrence not to his liking. When we remember that these people, and others, had been living for years on their plantations, many of them purchased fairly from the Indians, which, at considerable expense and labor, had been brought to a high state of cultivation, and were then suddenly confronted by the English from Philadelphia, who bluntly told them the lands were theirs and that they would either be obliged to purchase them over again or leave them, we can readily believe that they did not have the most cordial feling towards the English. Notwithstanding this fact, however, nowhere else is there found any harsh criticism against Mr. Dupui, but, on the contrary, many kind expressions. He may have sold rum to the garrison, but that was merely following what was then very customary, and it is hardly to be expected that he could keep the soldiers supplied with that necessary of life for nothing.

On March 2, 1758, Major James Burd likewise visited the place on a tour of inspection and reported it to be
“a very fine Plantation, Situate upon the River Delaware, 21 miles from Tead’s & 100 miles from Phila’a, they go in Boats from hence to Phila’a by the River Delaware, which carrys about 22 Ton. This place is 35 miles from Easton and 38 from Bethlehem. There is a pretty good Stockade here & 4 Sweevells mounted & good accommodation for soldiers.

“3’d Friday.

“Reviewed this Garrison and found here 22 good men, . . . Extreme cold. The Country apply for a Company to be Stationed here. Ordered Ensign Hughes to his Post at Swettarrow.”

In June, 1758, Captain Bull, commanding at Fort Allen, having been notified of approaching danger, at once wrote Mr. Dupui as follows:

“June ye 14th, 1758, at Fort Allen.

“MR. SAMUEL DEPUGH:

“This is to let you know that there is this evening come to Fort Allen too white men from Wioming, one named Frederick Post, and one Thomson, who have been there with messages from the Government, who informs that there pass’d by Wioming a party of Indians, in number 25, Being part of too hundred French Indians, on their way to the frontiers or Minisinks, these in hast from yours to Serve.

“JOHN BULL, Capt.”

Immediately Mr. Dupui wrote to Mr. Swain at Easton:



OLD SHAWANEE CHURCH NEAR SITE OF DUPUI STOCKADE.

"SMITHFIELD, June 15th, 1758, at night.

"*Dear Sir:*

"Inclosed I send you Capt. Bull's letter to me from Fort Allen, with an acc't of Indians supposed to be on their way to this part of the Frontiers or Minisink, which is much to be feared, will prove most fatal to this part, as it is at present the most Defenceless, the Bearer of Mr. Bull's letter informs me that he saw 11 Indians between this and Fort Allen, but he Luckily made his escape, to this he says he is willing to be qualified, I hope D'r Sir you will be kind enough to take his qualification, and Transmit it to his Honour our Governor with a state of our present Defenceless Circumstances, interceding for us by imploring his hon'r to aid and assist us as much as in his power, as your influence I humbly apprehend is Great and yourself well acquainted with our Defenceless Situation, much mischief has been done in the Minisinks some time ago of which I believe you are by this time informed, last Thirsday the Indians began to renew their Barbarities by killing and scalping 2 men, and slightly wounding another, in the Minisinks, and this morning we heard the Disagreeable news of a Fort being taken at the upper end of the Minisinks, by a party of Indians supposed to be 40 in number, the white men it's said belonging to that Garrison were Farmers, and were out in their plantations when the Indians fired on them and Killed them, whereupon the Indians marched up to the Fort and took all the women and children Captive and carrying them away, and last night the Indians stole a ferry Boat at a place called Wallpack; and brought from the Jersey Shore to this side a large number of Indians, as appeared by their Tracks on the sand banks, so that we are in continual fear of their

approach, I wish we may be able to Defend ourselves against them till it be his honour's power to assist us under God, he being our protector, and I make no Doubt from the Fatherly care his honour has been pleased to exercise over us since his succession to this province, But he will be willing to acquiesce with your reasonable and just sentiments upon the whole, which believe me Dear Sir will always meet a grateful and adequate acknowledgment from your most Humble Servant.

“SAMUEL DUPUI.”

“P. S.—Should his Honour think proper to send men, he need not provide any further than their arrival here, I have provisions for them.”

With this letter ends our recorded history of Dupui's Fort, the last of the defenses employed against the Indians.

COLONEL ARMSTRONG'S EXPEDITION AGAINST KITTANNING.

The old Indian town of Kittanning was settled by the Delawares prior to 1730. Shingas, king of the Delawares, on whom Washington called, in 1753, at his residence near McKee's Rocks, occasionally resided with Captain Jacobs, at the Kittanning, on the left bank of the Allegheny, or, as it was then called, Ohio, which the Indians pronounced Oh-he-hu, or Ho-he-hu, meaning beautiful or handsome.

Of Captain Jacobs we have previously heard. King Shingas, says Heckewelder, was “a bloody warrior, cruel his treatment, relentless his fury, small in person, but in activity, courage and savage prowess unexcelled.”

After Braddock's defeat, when the entire frontier lay open to the enemy, it became necessary to secure information as to the numbers, etc., of the savages. To that

end a Delaware, named Jo Hickman, was sent, by George Croghan, to the Ohio, who returned in January, 1756, and reported that "he had gone to Kittanning, an Indian Delaware town on the Ohio (Allegheny), forty miles above Fort Duquesne, the residence of Shingas and Capt. Jacobs, where he found 140 men, chiefly Delawares and Shawanese, who had there with them above 100 English prisoners, big and little, taken from Virginia and Pennsylvania. From the Kittanning he went to Loggstown, where he found 100 Indians and 30 English prisoners; that he returned to Kittanning, and there learned that 10 Delawares had gone to the Susquehanna to persuade, as he supposed, those Indians to strike the English who might have been concerned in the mischief lately done in Northampton" (the Walking Purchase, etc.).

It was from these headquarters that the savages made their continual forays upon the settlers, west of the Susquehanna in especial. When these marauding expeditions culminated in the destruction of Fort Granville, at the end of July, 1756, with its accompanying murders, it was determined to break up these harboring places. To that end an expedition was authorized, under the charge of Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong commanding the Second Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment. While it is true that the majority of his force was composed of Scotch-Irish and English, yet it also contained, in its ranks, many of German blood. Armstrong, with three hundred and seven men of his force, was at Fort Shirley, Monday, September 3, 1756, whence he set out on his campaign. The events which followed are clearly detailed in the official report now to follow.

COLONEL ARMSTRONG'S ACCOUNT OF THE
EXPEDITION.

“May it please your honor: Agreeable to mine of the 29th ult., we marched from Fort Shirley the day following, and on Beaver Dam, a few miles from Frankstown, on the North. Wednesday, the third instant, joined our advance party at the Branch of Juniata, we were there informed that some of our men having been out upon a scout had discovered the tracks of two Indians, about three miles on this side of the Allegheny Mountains, and but a few miles from the camp. From the freshness of the tracks, their killing of a cub bear, and the marks of their fires, it seemed evident that they were not twenty-four hours before us, which might be looked upon as a particular providence in our favor, that we were not discovered. Next morning we decamped, and in two days we came within 50 miles of Kittanning. It was then adjudged necessary to send some persons to reconnoitre the Town, to get the best intelligence they could concerning the situation and position of the enemy; whereupon an officer with one of the pilots and two soldiers, were sent off for that purpose. The day following we met them on their return, and they informed us that the roads were entirely clear of the enemy, and that they had the greatest reason to believe that they were not discovered, but from the rest of the intelligence they gave it appeared they had not been nigh enough to the Town, either to perceive the true situation of it, the number of the enemy, and what way it might most advantageously be attacked. We continued our march, in order to get as near the Town as possible that night, so as to be able to attack it next morning about daylight, but to our great dissatisfaction, about

9 or 10 o'clock that night, one of the guides told us that he perceived a fire by the roadside, at which he saw 2 or 3 Indians a few perches distant from our front; where upon, with all possible silence, I ordered the rear to retreat about 100 perches in order to make way for the front, that we might consult what way we had best proceed without being discovered by the enemy. Soon after the pilot returned a second time, and assured us, from the best observations he could make, there were not more than 3 or 4 Indians at the fire, on which it was proposed that we should immediately surround and cut them off, but this was thought too hazardous, for if but one of the enemy had escaped, it would have been the means of discovering the whole design; and the light of the moon on which depended our advantageously posting our men, and attacking the Town, would not admit of our staying until the Indians fell asleep. On which it was agreed to leave Lieutenant Hogg with 12 men, and the person who first discovered the fire, with orders to watch the enemy, but not to attack them until break of day, and then, if possible, to cut them off. It was agreed (we believing ourselves to be about 6 miles from the Town), to leave the horses, many of them being tired, with what blankets and baggage we then had, and to take a circuit off the road, which was very rough and incommodious on account of the stones and fallen timber, in order to prevent our being heard by the enemy at the fire place. This interruption much retarded our march, but a still greater arose from the ignorance of our pilot, he neither knew the true situation of the Town nor the best paths that led thereto; by which means, after crossing a number of hills and valleys, our front reached the River Ohio, (Allegheny), about 100 perches below the main body of the Town, a little

before the setting of the moon, to which place, rather than by the pilots, we were guided by the beating of the drum and the whooping of the warriors at their dance. It then became us to make the best use of the remaining moonlight, but ere we were aware, an Indian whistled in a very singular manner, about thirty yards in our front, at the foot of a cornfield; upon which we immediately sat down, and after passing silence to the rear, I asked one Baker, a soldier who was our best assistant, whether that was not a signal to the warriors of our approach. He answered no, and said that it was the manner of a young fellow's calling a squaw after he had done his dance, who accordingly, kindled a fire, cleaned his gun, and shot it off, before he went to sleep. All this time we were obliged to lay quiet and hush, till the moon was fairly set; immediately after, a number of fires appeared in different places in the cornfield, by which Baker said the Indians lay, the night being warm, and that these fires would immediately be out as they were only designed to disperse the gnats. By this time it was break of day, and the men having marched thirty miles, were almost asleep. The line being long, the three companies in the rear were not yet brought over the last precipice. For these some proper persons were immediately dispatched, and the weary soldiers, being roused to their feet, a proper number, under sundry officers, were ordered to take the end of the hill, at which we then lay, and march along the top of said hill at least one hundred perches, and as much further, it then being daylight, as would carry them opposite the upper part, or at least the body of the town. For the lower part thereof, and the cornfield, (presuming the warriors were there), I kept rather the larger number of the men, promising to postpone the attack on that part for eighteen or twenty min-

utes, until the detachment along the hill should have time to advance to the place assigned, in doing of which they were a little unfortunate. The time being elapsed, the attack was begun in the cornfield, and the men, with all expedition possible dispatched to the several parts thereof, a party being also dispatched to the houses, which were then discovered by the light of the day. Capt. Jacobs immediately gave the war-whoop, and with sundry other Indians, as the English prisoners afterwards told us, cried that 'the white men were come at last, and that they would have scalps enough;' but at the same time ordered their squaws and children to flee to the woods. Our men with great eagerness passed through and fired into the cornfield, where they had several returns from the enemy, as they also had from the opposite side of the river. Presently after a brisk fire began among the houses, which from the house of Capt. Jacobs were returned with a great deal of resolution. To that place I immediately repaired, and found that, from the advantage of the house and port-holes, sundry of our people were wounded and some killed, and finding that returning the fire upon the house was ineffectual, ordered the contiguous houses to be set on fire, which was done by sundry of the officers and soldiers with a great deal of activity, the Indians always firing when an object presented itself, and seldom missed of wounding or killing some of our people. From this house, in moving about to give the necessary orders and directions, I was wounded by a large musket ball, in my shoulder. Sundry persons, during the action were ordered to tell the Indians to surrender themselves prisoners, but one of the Indians in particular answered and said he was a man and would not be taken a prisoner, upon which he was told he would be burnt; to this he answered he did not care, for he would

kill four or five before he died; and had we desisted from exposing ourselves, they would have killed a great many more, they having a number of loaded guns by them. As the fire began the approach and the smoke grew thick, one of the Indians began to sing. A squaw, in the same house, at the same time, was heard to cry and make a noise, but for so doing was severely rebuked by the men; but by and by the fire being too hot for them, two Indians and a squaw sprang out and made for the cornfield, and were immediately shot down by our people. Then surrounding the houses, it was thought Captain Jacobs tumbled himself out of a garret or cock-loft, at which time he was shot, our prisoners offering to be qualified to the powder-horn and pouch there taken off him, which they say he had lately got from a French officer in exchange for Lieutenant Armstrong's boots, which he carried from Fort Granville, where the Lieutenant was killed. The same prisoners say they are perfectly assured of the scalp, as no other Indians there wore their hair in the same manner. They also say they knew his squaw's scalp, and the scalp of a young Indian named the King's Son. Before this time, Captain Hugh Mercer, who, early in the action, was wounded in the arm, had been taken to the top of a hill above the town (to whom a number of men and some officers had gathered), from whence they had discovered some Indians cross the river and take to the hill, with an intent, as they thought, to surround us, and cut off our retreat, from whom I had sundry pressing messages to leave the houses and retreat to the hill, or we should all be cut off; but to this I could by no means consent, until all the houses were set on fire; though our spreading on the hill appeared very necessary, yet it did not prevent our researches of the cornfield and river side, by which means

sundry scalps were left behind, and doubtless some squaws, children and English prisoners, that otherwise might have been got. During the burning of the houses, which were near thirty in number, we were agreeably entertained with a succession of reports of charged guns gradually firing off, as the fire reached them, and much more so with the vast explosion of sundry bags, and large kegs of gunpowder, wherewith almost every house abounded. The prisoners afterwards told us, that the Indians had often boasted that they had powder enough for a two years' war with the English. With the roof of Captain Jacobs' house, when the powder blew up, was thrown the leg and thigh of an Indian, with a child three or four years old, to such a height, that they appeared as nothing, and fell in the adjacent cornfield. There was also a great quantity of goods burnt, which the Indians had received as a present but ten days before from the French. By this time I had proceeded to the hill to have my wound tied up and the blood stopped, where the prisoners, who had come to us in the morning, informed me that that very day two bateaux of Frenchmen, with a large party of Delaware and French Indians, were to join Captain Jacobs at Kittanning, and to set out early the next morning to take Fort Shirley, or, as they called it, George Croghan's Fort, and that twenty-four warriors, who had lately come to the town, were sent out the evening before, for what purpose they did not know, whether to prepare meat, to spy the fort, or to make an attack on some of our back inhabitants. Soon after, upon a little reflection, we were convinced these warriors were all at the fire we had discovered the night before, and began to doubt the fate of Lieutenant Hogg and his party. From this intelligence of the prisoners (our provisions being scaffolded some thirty miles back, except

what were in the men's haversacks, which were left with the horses and blankets, with Lieutenant Hogg and his party, and a number of wounded people then on hand), and by the advice of the officers, it was thought imprudent then to wait for the cutting down of the cornfield (which was before designed); but immediately to collect our wounded, and force our march back in the best manner we could, which we did by collecting a few Indian horses to carry off our wounded. From the apprehensions of being waylaid and surrounded (especially by some of the woodmen), it was difficult to keep the men together, our march for sundry miles not exceeding two miles an hour, which apprehensions were heightened by the attempts of a few Indians, who, for some time after the march, fired upon each wing and ran off immediately, from whom we received no other damage than one of our men being wounded through both legs. Captain Mercer being wounded, he was induced, we have reason to believe, to leave the main body with his ensign, John Scott, and ten or twelve men (they being overheard to tell him we were in great danger and that they could take him into the road by a nigh way), and is probably lost, there being yet no account of him. A detachment of most of our men was sent back to bring him in, but could not find him, and upon the return of the detachment it was generally reported that he was seen with the above number of men to take a different road. Upon our return to the place where the Indian fire had been seen the night before, we met a sergeant of Captain Mercer's company and two or three others of his men, who had deserted us that morning immediately after the action at Kittanning. These men, on running away, had met with Lieutenant Hogg, who lay wounded in two different parts of the body, near the road side. He then

told them of the fatal mistake of the pilot, who had assured us there were but three Indians, at the most, at the fire place, but when he came to attack them that morning, according to orders, he found a number considerably superior to his, and believes they killed and mortally wounded three of them the first fire, after which a warm engagement began, and continued for above an hour, when three of his best men were killed, and himself wounded. The residue fleeing off, he was obliged to squat in a thicket, where he might have laid securely until the main body came up, if this cowardly sergeant, and others that fled with him, had not taken him away. They had marched but a shore distance, when four Indians appeared, upon which these deserters began to flee; the Lieutenant, notwithstanding his wounds, as a brave soldier, urging and commanding them to stand and fight, which they all refused. The Indians pursued, killing one man and wounding the Lieutenant a third time in the belly, of which he died in a few hours; but having been placed on horseback some time before he rode some miles from the place of action. But this attack of the Indians upon Lieutenant Hogg was represented by the cowardly sergeant in an entirely different light; he tells us there was a far larger number of Indians there than appeared to them and that he and the men with him had fought five rounds; that he had there seen the lieutenant and sundry others killed and scalped, and had also discovered a number of Indians throwing themselves before us, and insinuated a great deal of such stuff as threw us into much confusion, so that the officers had a great deal to do to keep the men together, but could not prevail upon them to collect the horses and what other baggage the Indians had left after their conquest of Lieutenant Hogg and the party under his com-

mand, in the morning, except a few horses, which a few of the bravest men were prevailed upon to collect; so that from the mistake of the pilot who spied the Indians at the fire, and the cowardice of the said sergeant and other deserters, we have sustained a considerable loss of horses and baggage. It is impossible to ascertain the exact number of the enemy killed in the action, as some were destroyed by fire, and others in different parts of the cornfield; but, upon a moderate computation, it is generally believed that there can be no less than thirty or forty killed and mortally wounded, as much blood was found in the cornfield, and Indians seen to crawl into the weeds on their hands and feet, whom the soldiers in pursuit of others then overlooked, expecting to find and scalp them afterwards, and also several killed and wounded in crossing the river. On beginning our march back we had about a dozen scalps of eleven English prisoners, but now find that four or five of the scalps are missing, part of which were lost on the road, and part in possession of those men who, with Captain Mercer, separated from the main body, with whom, also, went four or five prisoners, the other seven being now at this place, where we arrived on Sunday night, not being even separated or attacked by the enemy during our whole march. Upon the whole had our pilots understood the true situation of the town, and the paths leading to it, so as to have posted us at a convenient place, where the disposition of the men and the duty assigned to them, could have been performed with greater advantage, we had, by Divine assistance, destroyed a much greater number of the enemy, recovered a greater number of prisoners, and sustained less damage than we at present have; but though the advantage gained over our common enemy is far from being satisfactory to us,

yet must we not despise the smallest degrees of success that God was pleased to give, especially at a time of such general calamity, when the attempts of our enemies have been so prevalent and successful. I am sure there was the greatest inclination to do more, had it been in our power, as the officers, and most of the men, throughout the whole action, exerted themselves with as much activity and resolution as could possibly be expected.

"Our prisoners inform us that the Indians have for some time talked of fortifying Kittanning and other towns; that the number of French at Fort Duquesne was about four hundred; that the principal part of their provisions came up the river from the Mississippi, and that in three other forts which the French have on the Ohio, there are not more men altogether than there is at Fort Duquesne."

The destruction of the town of Kittanning, and the Indian families there, was a severe blow to the savage. Hitherto the English had not assailed them in their towns, and they fancied that they would not venture to do so. But now, though urged by an unquenchable thirst for vengeance, to retaliate the blow they had received, they dreaded that, in their absence on war parties, their wigwams might be reduced to ashes. Such of them as belonged to Kittanning, and had escaped the carnage, refused to settle again on the east of Fort Duquesne, and resolved to place that fortress and the French garrison, between them and the English.

On the fifth of January following, the Corporation of Philadelphia, on the occasion of this victory, addressed a complimentary letter to Colonel Armstrong, thanking him and his officers for their gallant conduct, and presented him with a piece of plate. A medal was also struck, having for device an officer followed by two soldiers, the

officer pointing to a soldier shooting from behind a tree, with an Indian prostrate before him; in the background Indian houses in flames. *Legend:* Kittanning destroyed by Colonel Armstrong, September 8, 1756. *Reverse Device:* The arms of the Corporation. *Legend:* The gift of the Corporation of Philadelphia.





CHAPTER XXXIII.

COLONEL BOUQUET AND THE ROYAL AMERICANS.



IN view of the scarcity of troops available for the operations of the British Government the thought suggested itself, to those in authority, of relieving the situation by the enlistment of persons of alien blood, to serve especially in the Province of Pennsylvania, where most of such were to be found.

Recognizing, at the same time, the aversion of the Germans to serve under officers who could not speak their tongue nor understand their characteristics, it was most sensibly decided to commission, for this purpose, a certain number of experienced foreigners.

The result of the decision thus reached is embodied in the following extract from a letter of March 13, 1756, from Secretary of State, H. Fox, to Governor Morris, which was read by him to the Council, at its meeting of June 29, 1756.

“WHITEHALL, 13th March, 1756.

“It having been represented that a Number of the For-

eign Settlers in America might be more willing to enter in the King's Service, if they were Commanded by officers of their own Country, an Act of Parliament has been passed, of which I send you, Inclosed, a Printed Copy, enabling His Majesty to grant Commissions to a certain number of German, Swiss and Dutch Protestants, who have served as officers or Engineers; and as they have already engaged, they will embark with all Expedition in order to assist in raising and Commanding such of the Foreign Protestants in North America, as shall be able and willing to serve with the rest of the Forces upon this Occasion; and it is the King's Pleasure that you should give any of the said officers who may enter into your Government, all the assistance in your Power in the Execution of this Service."

The direct consequence of this act was the formation of the Royal American Regiment, now the Sixtieth Rifles of the British Army, consisting of four battalions of one thousand men each. Colonel Bouquet was placed in command of the First Battalion, an adopted son of Pennsylvania,²⁵ who never failed to do it credit nor serve it faithfully. We are told that his person was fine, and his bearing composed and dignified, perhaps somewhat austere, for he is said to have been more respected than loved by his officers. Nevertheless, their letters are very far from indicating any want of cordial relations. He was fond of the society of men of science, and wrote English better than most British officers of the time. Here and there, however, a passage in his letters suggests the inference that the character of the gallant mercenary was toned by his profession, and to the unideal epoch in which he lived.

²⁵ Naturalized March 3, 1765, by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in accordance with Act of Parliament.

Yet he was not the less an excellent soldier; indefatigable, faithful, full of resource, and without those arrogant prejudices which impaired the efficiency of many good British officers. He had acquired a practical knowledge of Indian warfare, and it is said that, in the course of the hazardous partisan service in which he was often engaged, when it was necessary to penetrate dark defiles and narrow passes, he was sometimes known to advance before his men, armed with a rifle, and acting the part of a scout.

Henry Bouquet was born at Rolle, in the Canton of Berne, Switzerland, about 1719. At the age of seventeen he was received, as a cadet, in the regiment of Constance, and thence passed into the service of the King of Sardinia, in whose wars he distinguished himself as a lieutenant, and afterwards as adjutant. In 1748 he entered the Swiss Guards as lieutenant-colonel. When the war broke out between England and France, in 1754, he was solicited by the former to serve in America. No soldier of foreign birth was so distinguished or so successful in Indian warfare as he. His services, in that direction, will be treated more in detail presently. At the close of the war the Assembly of Pennsylvania and the Burgesses of Virginia adopted addresses of gratitude, tendered him their thanks and recommended him for promotion in His Majesty's service. Immediately after the peace with the Indians was concluded, the King made him brigadier-general and commandant in the Southern colonies of British America. He did not live long to enjoy his honors but died at Pensacola in 1767, "lamented by his friends, and regretted universally."

This battalion of the Royal American Regiment, commanded by Bouquet, was made up, almost entirely, of Pennsylvania-Germans. Therefore, his glories are their

glories, his services are their services. Quite a number of the German Redemptioners presented themselves as recruits, so much so as to cause some little friction between the authorities and their masters.

By 1763-64 a fair number of English provincials were to be found in its ranks, as well as those of German descent.

MARRIAGES OF SOLDIERS.

Irrespective of names found elsewhere it is interesting to note that among the marriage records of the Zion Lutheran Church of Philadelphia just published, for the first time, by the Pennsylvania-German Society, are found various names of soldiers of the French and Indian War, all, apparently, members of the Royal American Regiment, as follows:

Anno 1757.

Baker, Thomas (soldier).

Badere, Barbara; m. February 8.

Witness: Adam Smith, Capt. Lander, Bendin Horneg, Corp. Bakett, Friedrich Durr, Capt. Harter, Fried. Schatz, Capt. Harting, Charles Schokard.

Conrad, Charles, soldier in Lieut. Meyer's Comp. 1st Bat.

——; m. February 15.

Witness: Adam Smith, John Nash.

Nash, John, soldier in Capt. Lander's Company, Lieut. Meyer.

Meyle, Esther; m. March 5.

Witness: Robert Hand (soldier), Charles Conrad, James Davis, John Vogel.

Horn, Joseph.

Ferdin, Mary; m. March 7.

Witness: Robert Hand (Sergt.), Lydia Cooke at Joseph Turner's, Mercy Kelly, John Nash.

Hentz, Jacob, Col. Stanwik's (Command).

Windles, Apalinna, free, served her time, and lived near Lancaster two years; m. March 12.

Witness: Knobold Pfillipp, Nicolaus Damlon, both soldiers.

Ox, George Leonhard (soldier).

Flikein, Margreth, from Saxe Gotha; m. March 14.

Witness: Carl Furshed (Sergeant), Johan Herzog, Philipp Chain.

Weynie, George, soldier, in Capt. Gates' Independent Company.

Smithin, Juliana, servant by Valentin Scales; m. March 16.

Witness: Valentin Scales, Niclaus Zimmerman, Jacob Hence.

Leischnitz, Christian, soldier.

Bettman, Christina, widow; m. April 3.

Witness: Three Vorstehers, Jürg. Sofferens, Joh. Jürg Reit.

Folke, Godfried (corporal).

Rieman, Margreth; m. April 3.

Witness: Three Vorstehers, Peter Bacher, Joh. Hartm. Raush.

Kämpf, Thomas (Sergeant).

Pläsin, Cathrina; m. May 1.

Witness: Plus. Kaber in my neighbor's house.

Johannes, Peter, soldier in Gavin Cochrane.

Utzin, Cathrina; m. May 9.

Witness: John Mackintosh, William Fischer, Barbara Messingere.

Vogel, Johannes, 1 battalion, Capt. Lander's company.

Vakin, Anna Marg., widow; m. May 13.

Witness: Jurg Fr. Volprecht, Johan Adam Fuchs, Jacob Eninger, Fried Osborn.

This new regiment, originally composed almost entirely of German and Swiss Protestants, was first called the Sixty-Second, or the Royal American Regiment of Foot. On enlistment for three years the men were obliged to take the oath of allegiance and to become naturalized subjects of Great Britain, but were required to serve only in America. At the disbandment of Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments in 1756, which were numbered the Fiftieth and the Fifty-first, the title was changed to the Sixtieth, or Royal American Regiment of Foot.

Its services were varied, numerous and most honorable. For distinguished conduct and bravery in 1759, under Wolf at Quebec, it was granted the motto "*celer et audax*." The scope of this narrative will only permit us to add, with regard to it, that, in 1758, the First and Fourth Battalions, under Bouquet, served in the army of General Forbes at the capture of Fort Duquesne, and, in 1763, the First Battalion, under Bouquet, was in the Pittsburg campaign of that year, and participated in the fierce battle of Bushy Run.

In its ranks, besides Colonel Bouquet, and those of less prominence already named, was another of the distinguished sons of Pennsylvania, the Rev. Michael Schlatter, Chaplain of the Fourth Battalion, from 1756 to 1782, who participated, with his regiment, in the Forbes campaign of 1758.

He was born at St. Gall, in Switzerland, July 14, 1716. His father, Paulus Schlatter, was a book-keeper, but belonged to an old and influential family. His mother, Magdalena Zollikofer, was descended from a distinguished family which had produced a number of eminent

ministers and devotional authors. Having, for some time, attended the gymnasium of his native place, and received special instructions from Professor Wegelin, he went to Holland, and, on December 27, 1736, matriculated at the University of Leyden; subsequently he studied in the University of Helmstedt, in the Duchy of Brunswick. In 1744 he became *vicarius* at Wigoldingen, canton of Thurgau, Switzerland, where he was doubtless ordained. Having proffered his services as a missionary to Pennsylvania, they were accepted, and he was sent to America by the Reformed Synod of Amsterdam, landing at Boston, after a dangerous voyage, on August 1, 1746, from whence he speedily left for Philadelphia. His faithful service in the Reformed Church, throughout Pennsylvania and adjoining territory, has already been ably given in detail by the Rev. Joseph H. Dubbs, D.D., LL.D., in Part X., Vol. XI., of these publications. He became the first Superintendent of Public Schools in Pennsylvania, but resigned his position in 1757 to become a chaplain in the Royal American Regiment. At the beginning of the War for Independence he again filled the same position in the British Army, but, in a short time, espoused the American cause, and, in September, 1777, when the British held Germantown, he was imprisoned and his house near Chestnut Hill ransacked. Notwithstanding he had proven himself so good a patriot he remained in the enjoyment of a pension from the British Government until his death, at Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, in October, 1790.

He was married to Marie Henrika, eldest daughter of Henry Schleydorn, one of the most eminent members of the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia, by whom he had nine children. Two of his sons served in the Revolutionary Army, and died in consequence of the sufferings then endured.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

GENERAL FORBES EXPEDITION AGAINST FORT DUQUESNE.



WITH the advent of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, as Prime Minister of England, came a new order of things. All former lethargy was shaken off, and preparations made, at once, for general offensive operations.

Besides the force to be sent from England, he called upon the different colonial governments to raise as many men as possible, promising to send over all the necessary munitions of war, and pledging himself to pay liberally all soldiers who enlisted. Pennsylvania promptly equipped two thousand seven hundred men, while the neighboring provinces also contributed large quotas. Three expeditions were determined upon, and the most active measures taken to carry them out.

The western expedition, intended for the reduction of

Fort Duquesne, was placed under the command of General John Forbes, an officer of great skill, energy and resolution. His forces consisted of provincials from Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina, with 1,200 Highlanders of Montgomery's 77th Regiment, and the Royal Americans, amounting in all, with wagons and camp followers, to between six and seven thousand men.

He waited at Philadelphia until his army was ready, and it was the end of June, 1758, before they were on the march. In the meantime the troops from Virginia, North Carolina and Maryland had been ordered to assemble at Winchester, Virginia, under Colonel Washington, and the Pennsylvania forces at Raystown, now Bedford.

The advance of the main force, under Colonel Bouquet, arrived at Raystown early in July, preceding General Forbes, who was attacked by a painful and dangerous malady which prevented him from getting further than Carlisle, and from reaching Raystown until towards the middle of September.

Before the army set out on its way through the wilderness, from this verge of civilization, the question arose as to the route which should be pursued. The Virginians, with Washington as their active and zealous speaker, advocated a march of thirty-four miles to Fort Cumberland, in Maryland, thence to follow the road which had been made by Braddock; the Pennsylvanians urged the hewing of a direct road through the forest. It was finally determined, upon the opinion of Sir John Sinclair, Quartermaster General, who had accompanied Braddock, and of Colonel Armstrong, to whose opinion Forbes and Bouquet paid great deference, as well as from reasons which appeared to be convincing to Bouquet and himself, that the

course should be direct through Pennsylvania, which meant that a new road must be made. By August 1, 1758, a large force was employed in opening up this road for the passage of the army.

To make a passage-way, however imperfect, was an undertaking of great difficulty. Bouquet's men pushed on the heavy work of road-making up the main range of the Alleghenies, and, what proved far worse, the parallel mountain ridge of Laurel Hill, hewing, digging, blasting, laying fascines and gabions to support the track along the steep side of declivities, or worming their way, like moles, through the jungle of swamp and forest. Forbes described the country to Pitt as an "immense uninhabited wilderness, overgrown everywhere with trees and brushwood, so that nowhere can one see twenty yards." In truth, as far as eye or mind could reach, a prodigious forest vegetation spread its impervious canopy over hill, valley and plain, and wrapped its stern and awful waste in the shadows of the tomb.

By the first of September communication was "effectually done to within forty miles of the French Fort," and nearly all of Bouquet's Division, consisting of about 2,500 men, were encamped about the Loyalhanna where, under Colonel Burd, of the Pennsylvania Regiment, was begun the erection of a stockade and fortified camp, which developed into Fort Mifflin.

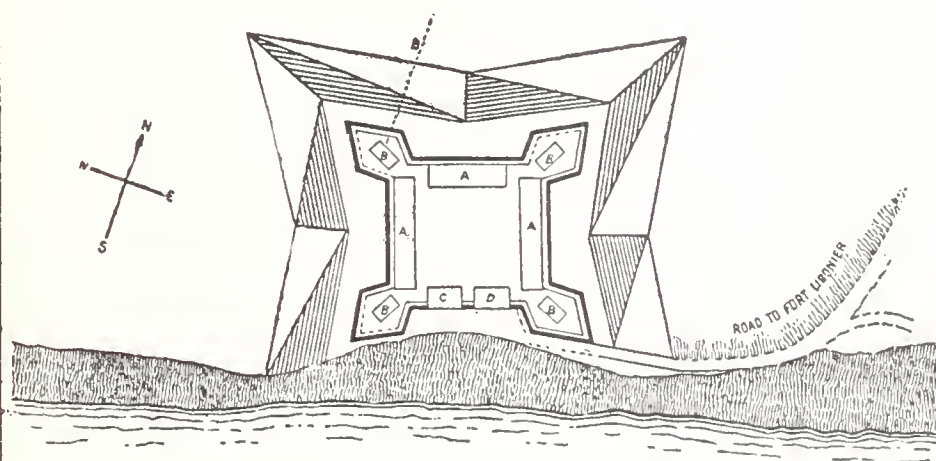
While awaiting, at this point, the arrival of the general, who was still very ill, and, because of the nature of his disease—inflammation of the stomach and bowels—had to be carried on a litter swung between two horses, there occurred the unfortunate affair of Major Grant's defeat, the most disastrous episode of the campaign.

Major James Grant, of the Highlanders, had begged

permission from Bouquet to allow him to make a reconnoissance in force towards the enemy's fort. Permission was given him to do so, but with special orders not to approach too near if there should be any indication of resistance, and, in no event, to run the risk of a combat, if it could be prevented.

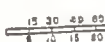
The first Fort Pitt, 1758.

A PLAN OF THE FORT FOR 220 MEN
BUILT IN DECEMBER 1758 WITHIN 400 YARDS
OF FORT DU QUESNE
A. SOLDIERS BARRACKS
B. OFFICERS HOUSE
C. STORES OF PROVISION
D. DITTO FOR INDIAN GOODS.



MONONGEHELA

RIVER 400 YARDS WIDE



180 FEET FOR THE PLAN
60 FEET FOR THE PROFITS

THE ABOVE PLAN &c (SEE PLAN OF FORT AUGUSTA)

He left the camp on the ninth of September, with a force of 37 officers and 805 privates. Without being discovered by the enemy, which was most remarkable, he succeeded in reaching the hill which overlooked Fort

Duquesne, on the third day. Basing his expectations on an utter ignorance of the methods of his enemy, of the qualities of most of his own men, and of the strength of his opponents, he, most imprudently, prepared his plans to draw the enemy out, flattering himself that he could readily defeat them. It so happened that, a day or two before, the French had received reinforcements from the Illinois.

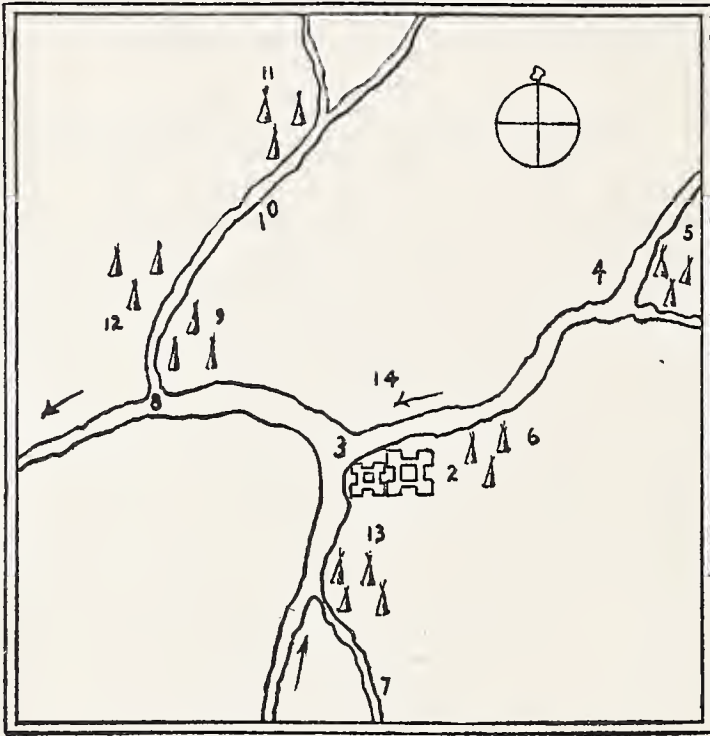
In the early morning of the fourteenth, while the fog yet lay on the land and river, he sent a few Highlanders to burn a warehouse standing on the cleared ground. By this means he hoped to draw out the enemy, while at the same time, he ordered the bagpipes to play and the reveillé to be beaten for his own men. . . . The roll of the drums was answered by a burst of war-whoops, and the French came swarming out, many of them in their shirts, having just leaped from their beds. They came together, and, for about three quarters of an hour, there was a hot fight in the forest. At length the horrors of such warfare, to which the Highlanders were not at all accustomed, the frightful yells and hideous appearance of the barbarians, their overpowering number and their own ignorance of such a method of fighting, completely overcame them. They broke away in wild and disorderly retreat. . . . Their only hope was in the rear-guard of Virginians, under Major Lewis, who had been kept back so that they might not share the honor of victory. Lewis pushed forward immediately upon hearing the sound of battle, but, in the woods, missed the retreating Highlanders. Bullitt, and his Virginia company, stood their ground and kept back the whole body of French and Indians until two thirds of his men were killed. They would not accept quarter. The survivors were driven into the Allegheny, where some were drowned,

while others swam over and escaped. . . . Grant was surrounded and captured, and Lewis, who presently came up, was also made prisoner, along with some of his men. . . . The English lost 273 killed, wounded and prisoners. The remainder succeeded in getting back safely to the camp at Loyalhanna.

The French did not pursue their advantage with such zeal as might have been expected, but seemed to be satisfied with taking as many prisoners as possible. With a full knowledge of the movements of the English army they decided to attack the troops under Bouquet, at Loyalhanna, before the arrival of the main body. In the meantime they harassed the English in every way conceivable until October 12, when, at 11 A. M., to the number of about 1,200 French and 200 Indians, commanded by M. de Vetri, they appeared before the camp. Upon the firing of their guns, Colonel James Burd, then in command, sent out two parties to surround them, which, as the firing increased, were reinforced until they numbered some 500 men. They were forced back, however, into the camp, and a regular attack ensued which lasted a long time, about two hours, finally resulting in the defeat of the enemy. During the night a second attack was made with like result. The loss to the English was 12 killed, 18 wounded, 31 missing of whom 29 were on grass guard when the attack was made.

Meanwhile the road-making progressed as rapidly as possible, under the directions of Colonel Bouquet, but under most disadvantageous conditions. We are told the "autumnal rains, uncommonly heavy and persistent, had ruined the newly-cut road. On the mountains the torrents tore it up, and in the valleys the wheels of the wagons and cannon churned it into soft mud. The horses, over-

worked and underfed, were fast breaking down. The forest had little food for them, and they were forced to



FORT PITT AND ITS ENVIRONS.

JANUARY 1759.

REFERENCES TO THE ABOVE SKETCH OF FORT DU QUESNE, NOW PITTSBURGH,
WITH THE ADJACENT COUNTRY.

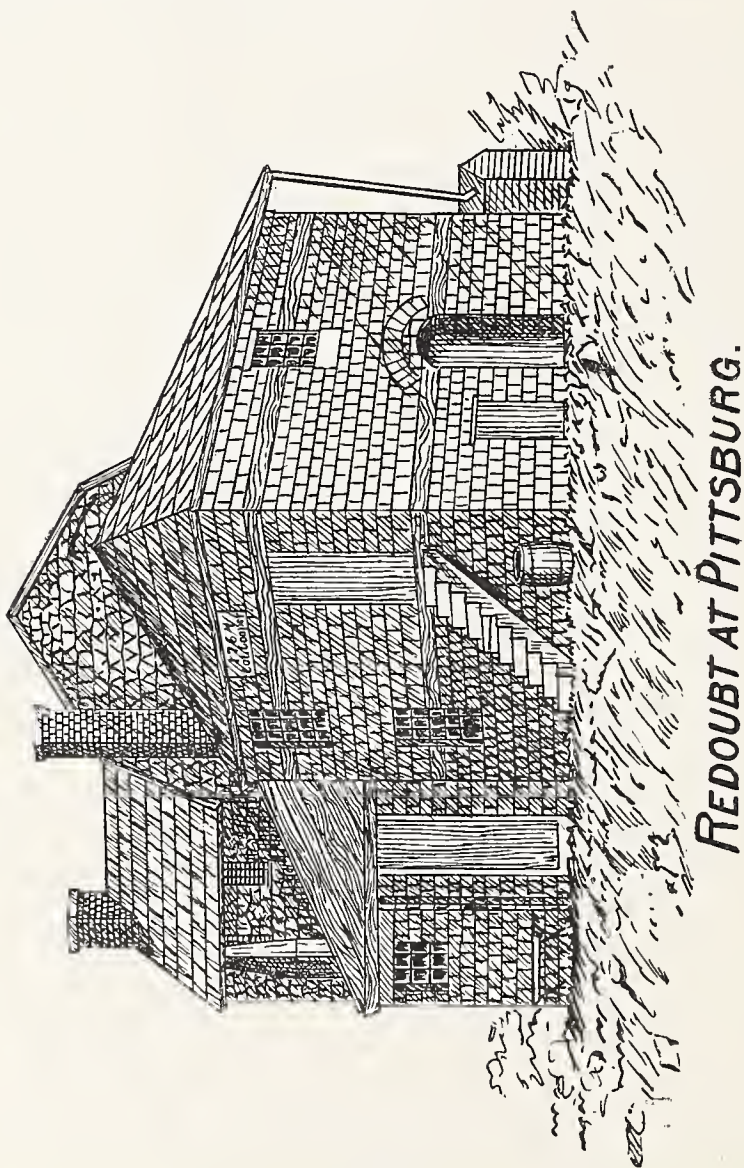
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|---------------------------------|--|
| 1 MONONGHELA RIVER. | 9 LOGS TOWN. |
| 2 FORT DU QUESNE OR PITTSBURGH. | 10 BEAVER CREEK. |
| 3 THE SMALL FORT. | 11 KUSKUSKIES CHIEF TOWN OF THE SIX NATIONS. |
| 4 ALLEGHENY RIVER | 12 SHINGOES TOWN. |
| 5 ALLEGHENY INDIAN TOWN. | 13 ALLIQUPPA |
| 6 SHANAPINS | 14 SENNAKAAS. |
| 7 YOUGHIOGHENY RIVER. | |
| 8 OHIO OR ALLEGHENY RIVER. | |

drag their own oats and corn, as well as the supplies for the army, through two hundred miles of wilderness. In

the wretched condition of the road, this was no longer possible. The magazines of provisions, formed at Raystown and Loyalhanna to support the army on its forward march, were emptied faster than they could be filled. Early in October the elements relented; the clouds broke, the sky was bright again, and the sun shone out in splendor on mountains radiant in the livery of autumn. A gleam of hope revisited the hearts of the English. It was but a flattering illusion. The sullen clouds returned, and a chill, impenetrable, veil of mist and rain hid the mountains and the trees. Dejected nature wept and would not be comforted. Above, below, around, all was trickling, oozing, pattering, gushing. In the miserable encampments the starved horses stood steaming in the rain, and the men crouched, disgusted, under their dripping tents, while the drenched picket-guard, in the neighboring forest, paced dolefully through black mire and spongy mosses. The rain turned to snow; the descending flakes clung to the many colored foliage, or melted from sight in the trench of half-liquid clay that was called a road. The wheels of the wagons sank in it to the hub, and to advance or retreat was alike impossible."

General Forbes did not succeed in reaching Loyalhanna until November 1, 1758. The weather had become cold, and the summits of the mountains were covered with snow. At a council of war, held immediately after his arrival, it was determined to advance no further that season. This determination, however, was suddenly changed as the result of information obtained from various sources touching the actual condition of affairs at Fort Duquesne. It was learned, conclusively, that the French were wanting provisions, that they were weak in number, and that the persistent efforts of the indefatigable and brave Moravian

missionary, Frederick Post, towards alienation, had become successful, and that the Indians had left them. It was, therefore, concluded to proceed.



Colonel Washington had so earnestly requested the priv-

ilege of leading the army, with his Virginians, that his request was granted; and he and his men under Colonel Armstrong, with the Pennsylvanians, were intrusted with that duty.

As the advance of the army he set out to open the way. On the twelfth of November, about three miles from the camp, his men fell in with a number of the enemy, and, in the attack, killed one man and took three prisoners. Among the latter was one Johnson, an Englishman, who had been captured by the Indians in Lancaster County, from whom was derived full and correct information with regard to the state of affairs at Fort Duquesne.

On this occasion occurred a most memorable affair in connection with the experiences of the army at Fort Ligonier. The following is a literal transcript of the article bearing upon it, as narrated by Washington himself to Colonel David Humphreys, a member of his military staff in the latter part of the Revolutionary War, who was preparing a sketch of his life.

“The enemy sent out a large detachment to reconnoitre our camp, and to ascertain our strength; in consequence of intelligence that they were within two miles of the camp a party commanded by Lieut. Colo. Mercer, of the Virginia Line (a gallant and good officer) was sent to dislodge them, between whom a severe conflict and hot firing ensued, which lasting some time and appearing to approach the camp, it was conceived that our party was yielding the ground, upon which G. W. with permission of the Gen'l called (per dispatch) for volunteers and immediately marched at their head, to sustain, as was conjectured, the retiring troops. Led on by the firing till he came within less than half a mile, and it ceasing, he detached scouts to investigate the cause, and to communicate his approach

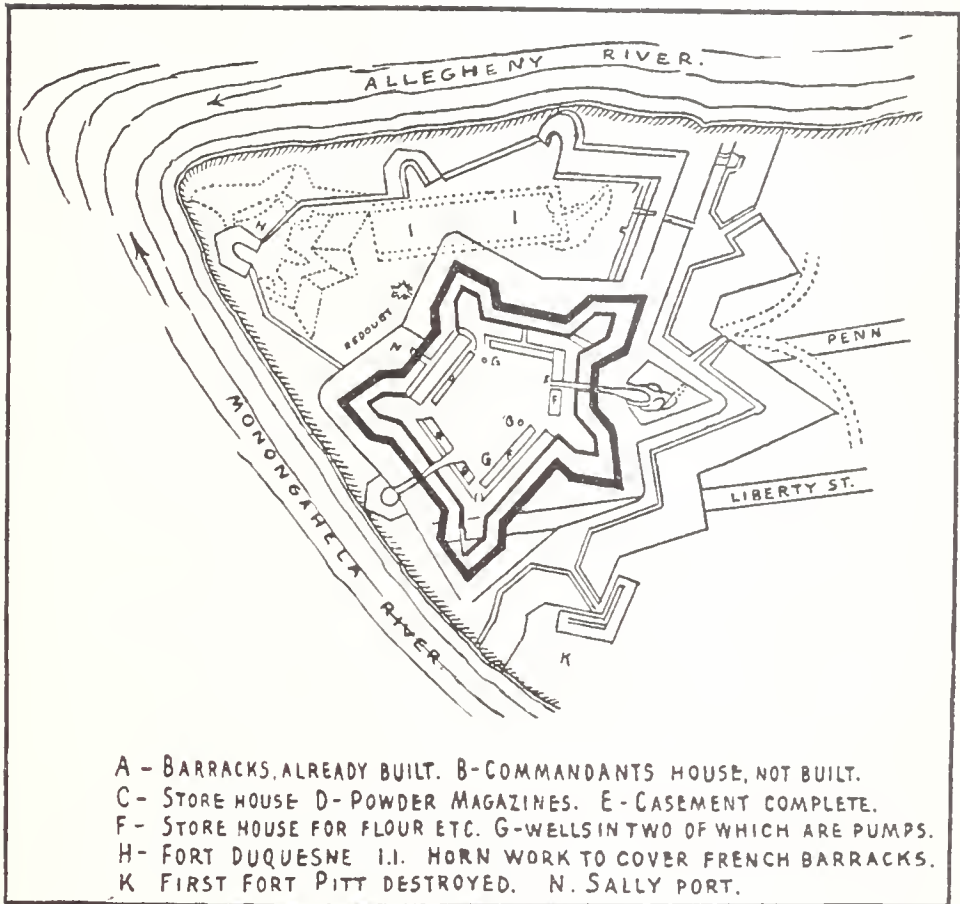
to his friend Colo. Mercer, advancing slowly in the meantime. But it being nearly dusk, and the intelligence not having been fully disseminated among Col. Mercer's corps, and they taking us for the enemy, who had retreated, approaching in another direction, commenced a heavy fire upon the relieving party which drew fire in return, in spite of all the exertions of the officers, one of whom, and several privates, were killed and many wounded before a stop could be put to it, to accomplish which G. W. never was in more imminent danger, by being between two fires, knocking up with his sword the presented pieces."

On November 13 Colonel Armstrong was sent out to the assistance of Washington, with 1,000 men. These two bodies of provincials coöperated together in the front; sometimes detachments of the one would be passed on the road by detachments of the other, and so again as the occasion required. The army progressed slowly; the weather was rainy; the road miserably bad. A number of friendly Indians were kept out as scouts; and every precaution was taken to guard against surprise.

The force for this purpose specially consisted of 2,500 men, picked out. That the men might be restricted as little as possible in their movements they went without tents or baggage, and with a light train of artillery, expecting to meet the enemy and ready to determine the result by a battle.

On the seventeenth of November Washington was at Bushy Run. On the eighteenth Armstrong is reported within seventeen miles of Fort Duquesne, where he had thrown up intrenchments. General Forbes himself followed on the seventeenth, from Fort Ligonier, with 4,300 effective men, having left strong garrisons and supplies both there and at Raystown. On the twenty-fourth

Forbes encamped his whole army about Turtle Creek, ten or twelve miles from Fort Duquesne. Here word was brought, by the Indian scouts who had advanced to within sight of the fort, that the French had abandoned



PLAN OF FORT PITT—1761.

the place and that the structure was on fire. This report was soon confirmed. A company of cavalry, under Captain Hazlet was sent forward to extinguish the fire and save as much as possible, but they were too late. Prepa-

rations had been made by the French to withdraw when it was seen that they could offer no resistance. They had made ready to destroy their works, and, after setting fire to everything that would burn, they withdrew with the rest of their munitions and cannon, some going down the Ohio, and the commandant, with the most of his forces, going up the Allegheny to Fort Machault. The whole of the English hurried forward, and, on Saturday, November 25, 1758, took possession of the site of Fort Duquesne, and thenceforth the place was held by those of Saxon blood. On the ruins of the former French fort there immediately rose the English Fort Pitt.

COLONEL BOUQUET, THE HERO OF PONTIAC'S WAR.

With the destruction of Fort Duquesne, the departure of the French, and the treaty of peace made with the Indians themselves, it was felt that the woes and hardships of the settlers were at an end. This was confirmed when, in 1762, a general peace was concluded between Great Britain, France and Spain, which was universally considered a most happy event in America. Armies were disbanded, forts abandoned and garrisons reduced in number, everywhere, when suddenly, in 1763, like a bolt out of a clear sky, came the so-called Pontiac Indian War.

For boldness of attempt and depth of design, the Kiyasuta and Pontiac War, so named by the frontier inhabitants, was perhaps unsurpassed in the annals of border warfare. Schemed by such renowned chiefs as Kiyasuta, head of the Senecas, and Pontiac, of the Ottowas, the numerous tribes lying within the reach of their influence were easily commanded for the prosecution of any new project. Not only in possession of these grand facilities to engage numerous warriors for the present purpose,

they availed themselves of additional means to secure a powerful confederacy by calling to aid their eloquence in representing the necessity which existed for the defense of their own rights, and the repelling of the encroachments of the English colonies, which they represented as having finally in view the hostile displacement, or extermination, of every western tribe, from the region they now occupied. With such means to stimulate them to action, while the recompense of their services, by the acquisition of spoil, and the more inviting reward of the renown of the warrior, were related to them in the most seductive colors, it need not be wondered that the plan of these cunning chieftains was immediately approved, and a zealous interest manifested.

The grand scheme projected by these Napoleons of the western wilderness seems to have been to arouse the tribes severally of the country, and all those they could reach by their eloquence, to join in striking a decisive blow on the frontiers, and, as it were, throw terror into the very heart of the colonies, and thereby effectually, and forever, repulse them from encroachments into the valley of the west. A certain day was set apart, it seems, for making the general assault, while the scheme was to be kept in profound silence, that they might come upon their victims in an unguarded hour. All the forts were to be simultaneously attacked, as well as the settlements, and all individuals whom they could reach, and thus, with one fell blow, as it were, raze to the earth everything bearing the mark of their doomed enemies. A season of the year was chosen when the attention of the people would be given to their crops, at which time the havoc and destruction might be so much the greater.

In arranging the time of attack, at a grand council held

by all the tribes a bundle of sticks was given each tribe, each bundle containing as many rods as there were days till the day when the general attack should be made. One rod was to be drawn from the bundle every morning, and when a single one remained it was the signal for the outbreak. It so happened that the friendliness of a Delaware squaw prompted her to extract several rods from the bundle of her tribe, in the hope that such action might disarrange the whole plan. The result was a premature attack upon Fort Pitt, whereby the settlers obtained some slight advance warning. In every other direction, however the attack was made simultaneously, and, at once, the frontier settlements of Pennsylvania, with the neighboring provinces of Maryland and Virginia, were once more overrun by scalping parties of the Shawanese and Delaware tribes in particular, which marked their way with blood and devastation wherever they went.

Almost every fort along the lakes and the Ohio was instantly attacked. Those that did not fall under the first assault were surrounded, and a resolute siege commenced. In a short time, so vigorous were the savages, that eight out of eleven forts were taken—Venango, Le Bœuf,²⁶ Presqu' Isle, with the chain of stockades west of the Ohio; Fort Pitt, Detroit and Niagara alone maintained their position.

Fort Pitt was in a most precarious condition, as well as Fort Ligonier. In 1763 the English settlements did not extend beyond the Alleghenies. In Pennsylvania, Bedford might be regarded as the extreme verge of the fron-

²⁶ Ensign Price, the commander of Fort Le Bœuf, succeeded in cutting his way through to Fort Pitt with his small garrison of a dozen Royal Americans, all Pennsylvania-Germans as their names indicate—Fisher, Nash, Dogood, Nigley, Dortinger and Trunk.

tier. From Bedford to Fort Pitt was about one hundred miles; Fort Ligonier lay nearly midway between. Each of them was a mere speck in the deep, impenetrable forests. Tier after tier of mountains lay between them, and they were connected by the one narrow road winding along hills and through sunless valleys. Little clearings appeared around these posts; among the stumps and dead trees, within sight of the forts, the garrison and a few settlers, themselves mostly soldiers, raised vegetables and a little grain. The houses and cabins, for the most part, were within the stockades. The garrisons were mainly regulars, belonging to the Royal American Regiment, whose life was most monotonous.

That Fort Pitt might the more readily be overcome it became necessary to capture Fort Ligonier, from which its supplies of all descriptions were drawn. In the latter part of May, 1763, Captain Ecuyer, in command of Fort Pitt, wrote Colonel Bouquet that the Indian outbreak appeared to be general, and that the savages were already committing depredations at his post. He was speedily surrounded by the enemy.

At the same time the Indians appeared before Fort Ligonier and began operations against it. The following extracts from the letters of Lieutenant Blane, its commander, will show what occurred, though, when his affairs were at the worst, nothing was heard from him, as all his messengers were killed. On the fourth of June he writes:

"Thursday last my garrison was attacked by a body of Indians about five in the morning; but as they only fired upon us from the skirts of the woods, I contented myself with giving them three cheers, without spending a single shot upon them. But as they still continued their popping upon the side next the town, I sent the sergeant of the

Royal Americans, with a proper detachment, to fire the houses, which effectually disappointed them in their plans."

On the seventeenth he writes to Bouquet:

"I hope soon to see yourself, and live in daily hopes of a reinforcement. . . . Sunday last, a man straggling out was killed by the Indians, and Monday night three of them got under an out-house, but were discovered. The darkness secured them their retreat. . . . I believe the communication between Fort Pitt and this is entirely cut off, having heard nothing from them since the thirtieth of May, though two expresses have gone from Bedford by this post."

On the twenty-eighth, he explains that he has not been able to report for some time, the road having been completely closed by the enemy.

"On the twenty-first," he continues, "the Indians made a second attempt in a very serious manner, for near two hours, but with the like success as the first. They began with attempting to cut off the retreat of a small party of fifteen men, who, from their impatience to come at four Indians who showed themselves, in a great measure forced me to let them out. In the evening, I think above a hundred lay in ambush by the side of the creek, about four hundred yards from the fort; and just as the party were returning pretty near where they lay they rushed out, when they undoubtedly would have succeeded, had it not been for a deep morass which intervened. Immediately after, they began their attack; and I dare say they fired upwards of one thousand shot. Nobody received any damage. So far, my good fortune in dangers still attends me."

By some means Blane got word to Captain Ourry, in command at Bedford, of the fall of Presqu' Isle and two other posts, who, knowing the straits in which Blane and

his men were, sent out from Fort Bedford, a party of twenty volunteers, all good woodsmen, who managed to reach Ligonier safely.

Almost bereft of troops, and resources of every description, General Amherst, the commander-in-chief of the British forces, found himself in a terrible quandary. In one particular, however, he had reason to congratulate himself, and that was in the character and ability of Colonel Bouquet, the officer who commanded, under his orders, in Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland, and upon whom, in this emergency, depended the safety of these colonies.

With the remnant of his Royal Americans, not already garrisoning the defenses at the front, Bouquet at once began taking active steps for the relief of the western posts—Fort Bedford, Fort Ligonier and Fort Pitt. It being apparent, however, that the two companies of his own regiment, at hand, were insufficient, Amherst ordered the remains of the Forty-second ("Black Watch" Highlanders), and Seventy-seventh (Montgomery's Highlanders), to march June 23, 1763, under the command of Major Campbell, of the Forty-second, to Bouquet. The first consisted of 214 men, including officers, and the latter of 133, officers included. Two days after Amherst writes to Bouquet:

"All the troops from hence that could be collected are sent you; so that should the whole race of Indians take arms against us I can do no more."

With his little force, almost a forlorn hope, he pushed forward immediately, reaching Carlisle at the end of June. Here he found every building in the fort, every house, barn and hovel, in the little town, crowded with the families of settlers, driven from their homes by the terror of

the tomahawk. He heard one ceaseless wail of moaning and lamentation, from widowed wives and orphaned children.

On Sunday, July 3, 1763, an express from Captain Ourry, at Fort Bedford, rode into Carlisle, with the disastrous news of the fall of Presqu' Isle and the other outposts. He told his ill-omened story to the crowd which surrounded him, while watering his horse, and added as, remounting, he rode towards Bouquet's tent, "The Indians will be here soon." The consternation and excitement now rose to such a pitch that the colonel saw it would be impossible for him to rely upon the people for the gathering of such supplies as were still needed for his advance. On the contrary, the voice of humanity demanded that he should distribute to the sufferers some portion of the material he had already collected. However, in eighteen days after his arrival at Carlisle, by the prudent and active measures which he pursued, added to his knowledge of the country, and the diligence of his employees, the necessary convoy and carriages were secured, and the army proceeded.

The force under his command did not exceed 500 men, of whom the most effective, outside of his handful of Royal Americans, were the Highlanders of the Forty-second Regiment. The remnant of the Seventy-seventh Regiment, with him also, had just returned from West Indian service, and were so enfeebled by their exposure to its climate as to be fit only for garrison duty.

His immediate concern was for Fort Ligonier. He knew the loss of this post, as a base of supplies, would be most disastrous to his army, as well as the entire province. He determined to risk sending a small detachment to its relief. Accordingly, thirty Highlanders were chosen,

who, furnished with guides, were ordered to push forward with the utmost speed, avoiding the road, traveling by night on unfrequented paths, and lying close by day. They reached Fort Bedford in due time, where they found that Captain Ourry had already sent a party of twenty backwoodsmen to reinforce Lieutenant Blane, but, after resting several days, they again set out. Coming near to Ligonier they found the place beset by the Indians, but managed to make themselves known, and, under a running fire, entered the fort safely.

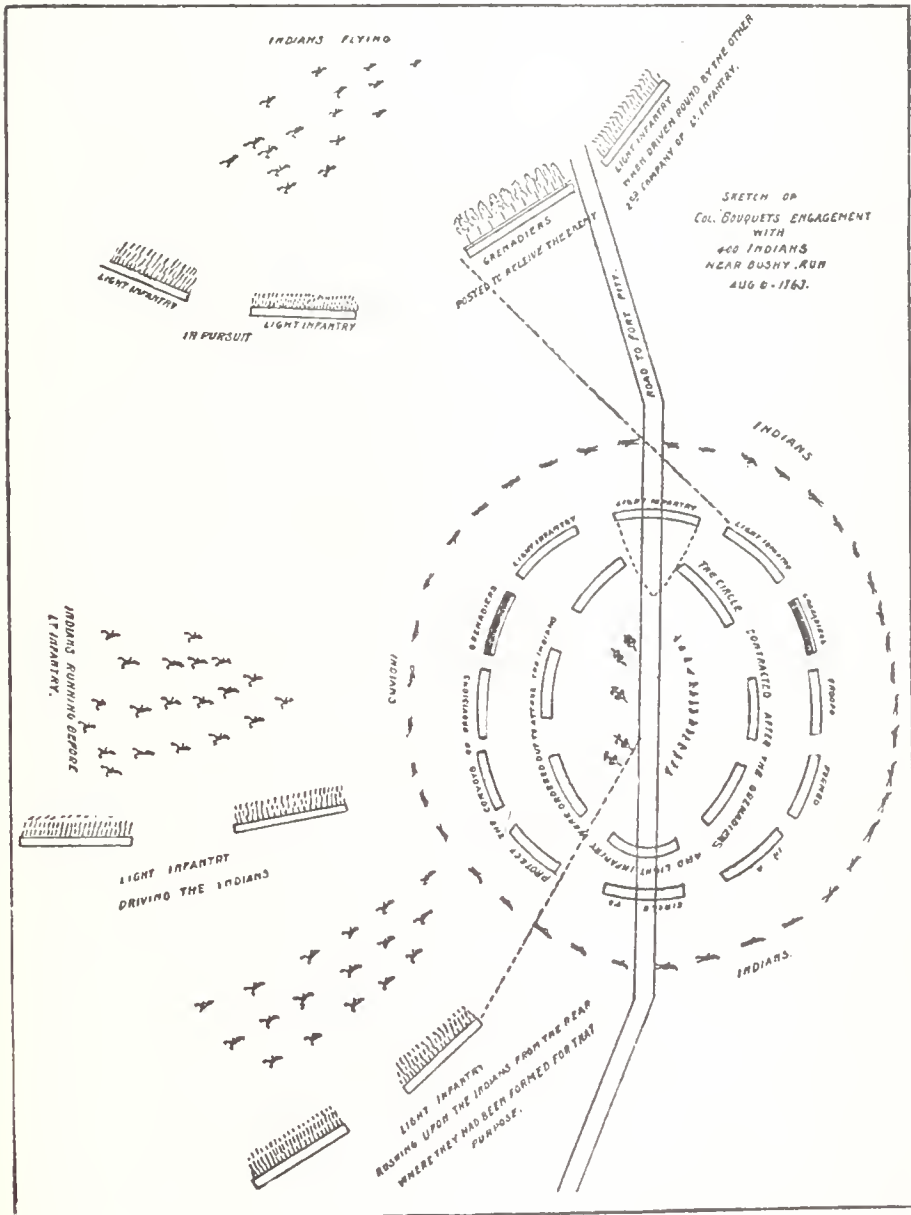
On the twenty-fifth of July the army reached Bedford, where Bouquet was fortunate in securing thirty backwoodsmen to accompany him. He remained three days in camp to rest his men and animals, then, leaving his invalids to garrison the fort, struck out into the wilderness of woods. Following the rugged path, which he, himself, had made in the Forbes expedition, on August 2, he reached Ligonier, the Indians vanishing as he approached.

This absence of the enemy, and the secrecy of their movements, was, to the experienced leader, an ominous thing. The garrison, having been completely blockaded for several weeks, could give no information as to the savages. They had heard nothing from the outside world during the trying weeks they were hemmed in. Bouquet well knew, however, that the Indians were watching every movement made by his army, even though they, themselves, were not detected. He therefore determined to leave his oxen and wagons at Fort Ligonier, and to proceed only with his packhorses and some cattle.

Thus relieved, on July 4 he resumed his march, taking with him 350 packhorses, upon which were loaded the flour and supplies, and a few cattle. The first night they encamped at no great distance from Ligonier, for he had

so timed his march as to reach by the next day, a desirable place on the route called Bushy Run, or, as it was then known, Byerly's Station.

On the morning of the fifth, the tents were struck at an early hour, and the troops began their march through a country broken with hills and deep hollows, covered with the tall, dense forest, which spread for countless leagues around. By one o'clock they had advanced seventeen miles, and the guides assured them that they were within half a mile of Bushy Run, their proposed resting place. The tired soldiers were pressing forward with renewed alacrity, when, suddenly, the report of rifles from the front sent a thrill along the ranks, and, as they listened, the firing thickened into a fierce, sharp rattle, while shouts and whoops, deadened by the intervening forest, showed that the advance guard was hotly engaged. The two foremost companies were at once ordered forward to support it, but, far from abating, the fire grew so rapid and furious as to argue the presence of an enemy at once numerous and resolute. At this the convoy was halted, the troops formed into line, and a general charge ordered. Bearing down through the forest, with fixed bayonets, they drove the yelping assailants before them, and swept the ground clear. But, at the very moment of success, a fresh burst of whoops and firing was heard from either flank, while a confused noise from the rear showed that the convoy was attacked. It was necessary to fall back instantly to its support. Driving off the assailants, the troops formed in a circle around the crowded and terrified horses. Though many of them were new to the work, and though the numbers and movements of the enemy, who were yelling on every side, were concealed by the thick forest, yet no man lost his composure, and all dis-



PLAN OF BATTLE AT BUSHY RUN.

played a steadiness which nothing but an implicit confidence in their commander could have inspired. Now ensued a combat of a nature most harassing and discouraging. Again and again, now on this side and now on that, a crowd of Indians rushed up, pouring in a heavy fire, and striving, with furious outcries, to break into the circle. A well-directed volley met them, followed by a steady charge of the bayonet. They never waited an instant to receive the attack, but, leaping backwards from tree to tree, soon vanished from sight, only to renew their attack with unabated ferocity in another quarter. Such was their activity that but few of them were hurt, while the British, less expert in bush-fighting, suffered severely. Thus the fight went on, without intermission, for seven hours, until the forest grew dark with approaching night. Upon this the Indians gradually slackened their fire, and the exhausted soldiers found time to rest.

It was impossible to change their ground in the presence of the enemy, so the troops were obliged to encamp upon the hill where the combat had taken place, though not a drop of water was to be found there. Fearing a night attack, Bouquet stationed numerous sentinels and outposts to guard against it, while the remainder of the men lay down upon their arms, preserving the order they had maintained during the fight.

The condition of the wounded was most deplorable, and might well awaken sympathy. About sixty soldiers, besides several officers, had been killed or disabled. A space in the center of the camp was prepared for their reception, which was surrounded by a wall of flour bags from the convoy, affording some protection from the bullets which flew on all sides during the fight. Here they

lay, on the ground, enduring the agonies of thirst, and waiting, passive and helpless, the issue of the battle.

With the earliest dawn of day there arose around the camp a general burst of those horrible cries which form the ordinary prelude of an Indian battle. Instantly, from every side at once, the enemy opened their fire, approaching under cover of the trees and bushes, and shooting with a close and deadly aim. As on the previous day they would rush up with furious impetuosity, striving to break into the ring of troops. They were repulsed at every point, but the British, though constantly victorious, were beset with undiminished perils, while the violence of the enemy seemed every moment on the increase. The troops, fatigued by the long march and equally long battle of the previous day, were maddened by the torments of thirst, "more intolerable," says their commander, "than the enemy's fire." They were fully conscious of the peril in which they stood of wasting away by slow degrees, while the Indians, seeing their distress, pressed them closer and closer.

Meanwhile, the interior of the camp was a scene of confusion. The horses, secured in a crowd near the wall of flour bags which covered the wounded, were often struck by the bullets, and wrought to the height of terror by the mingled din of whoops, shrieks and firing. They would break away by half scores at a time, burst through the ring of troops and the outer circle of assailants, and scour madly up and down the hillsides, while many of the drivers, overcome by the terrors of a scene in which they could bear no active part, hid themselves among the bushes and could neither hear nor obey orders.

It was now about ten o'clock. The troops were fast giving out. If the fortunes of the day were to be re-

trieved the effort must be made at once, and, happily, the mind of the commander was equal to the emergency. Could the Indians be brought together in a body, and made to stand their ground when attacked, there could be little doubt of the result. To effect this object Bouquet determined to increase their confidence, which had already mounted to an audacious pitch. The companies of infantry, forming a part of the ring, which had been exposed to the hottest fire were ordered to fall back into the interior of the camp, while the troops on either hand joined their files across the vacant space, as if to cover the retreat of their comrades. These orders given at a favorable moment, were executed with great promptness. The thin line of troops who took possession of the deserted circle were from their small numbers, brought closer in towards the center. The Indians mistook these movements for a retreat. Confident that their time had come, they leaped up on all sides, from behind the trees and bushes, and, with infernal screeches, rushed headlong towards the spot, pouring in a heavy and galling fire. The shock was too violent to be long endured. The men struggled to maintain their posts, but the Indians seemed on the point of breaking into the heart of the camp, when the aspect of affairs was suddenly reversed. The two companies, who had apparently abandoned their position, were, in fact, destined to begin the attack, and now sallied out from the circle, at a point where a depression in the ground, joined to the thick growth of trees, had concealed them from the eyes of the Indians. Making a short detour through the woods, they came round upon the flank of the furious assailants, and fired a close volley into the midst of the crowd. Numbers were seen to fall, yet, though completely surprised and utterly at a loss to understand the

nature of the attack, the Indians faced about with the greatest intrepidity, and returned the fire. The Highlanders, however, with yells as wild as their own, fell on them with the bayonet. The shock was irresistible, and they fled before the charging ranks in a tumultuous throng. Orders had been given to two other companies, occupying a contiguous part of the circle, to support the attack whenever a favorable moment should occur, and they had therefore advanced a little from their position, where they lay crouched in ambush. The fugitives, pressed by the Highland bayonets, passed directly across their front, upon which they rose and poured upon them a second volley, no less destructive than the first. This completed the rout. The various companies, uniting, drove the flying savages through the woods, giving them no time to rally or reload their empty rifles, killing many and scattering the rest in hopeless confusion.

While this took place at one part of the circle, the troops and savages had still maintained their respective positions at the other, but, when the latter perceived the total rout of their comrades, and saw the troops advancing to assail them, they also lost heart and fled. The discordant outcries which had so long deafened the ears of the English soon ceased altogether, and not a living Indian remained near the spot. About sixty corpses lay scattered on the ground, among whom were found several prominent chiefs, while the blood which stained the leaves of the bushes showed that numbers had fled wounded from the field. The soldiers took but one prisoner, whom they shot to death like a captive wolf. The loss of the British in the two battles, surpassed that of the enemy, amounting to eight officers and one hundred and fifteen men.

Having been for some time detained by the necessity of

making litters for the wounded, and destroying the stores which the flight of most of the horses made it impossible to transport, the army moved on, in the afternoon, to Bushy Run. Here they had scarcely formed their camp, when they were again fired upon by a body of Indians, who were soon repulsed. On the next day they resumed their progress towards Fort Pitt, distant about twenty-five miles, which, though frequently annoyed on the march by petty attacks, they reached on the tenth, without serious loss. It was a joyful moment both to the troops and to the garrison.

The battle of Bushy Run was one of the best contested actions ever fought between white men and Indians. In the province the victory excited equal joy and admiration, especially among those who knew the incalculable difficulties of an Indian campaign. The Assembly of Pennsylvania passed a vote expressing their sense of the merits of Bouquet, and of the services he had rendered the province. He soon after received the additional honor of the formal thanks of the King.

In many an Indian village the women cut away their hair, gashed their limbs with knives, and uttered their dismal howlings of lamentation for the fallen. Fort Pitt was effectually relieved, and the spirit of the savage completely broken, even though his depredations did not instantly cease.

RETURN OF KILLED AND WOUNDED IN THE TWO ACTIONS.

Forty-second, or Royal Highlanders.—One captain, one lieutenant, one sergeant, one corporal, twenty-five privates, killed, one captain, one lieutenant, two sergeants, three

corporals, one drummer, twenty-seven privates, wounded.

Sixtieth, or Royal Americans.—One corporal, six privates, killed; one lieutenant, four privates, wounded.

Seventy-seventh, or Montgomery Highlanders.—One drummer, five privates, killed; one lieutenant, one volunteer, three sergeants, seven privates, wounded.

Volunteers, Rangers and Pack-horse Men.—One lieutenant, seven privates, killed; eight privates, wounded; five privates missing.

NAMES OF OFFICERS.

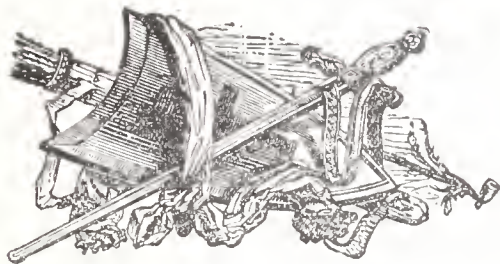
Forty-second Regiment.—Captain-Lieutenant John Graham, Lieutenant McIntosh and Lieutenant Joseph Randal, of the rangers, killed.

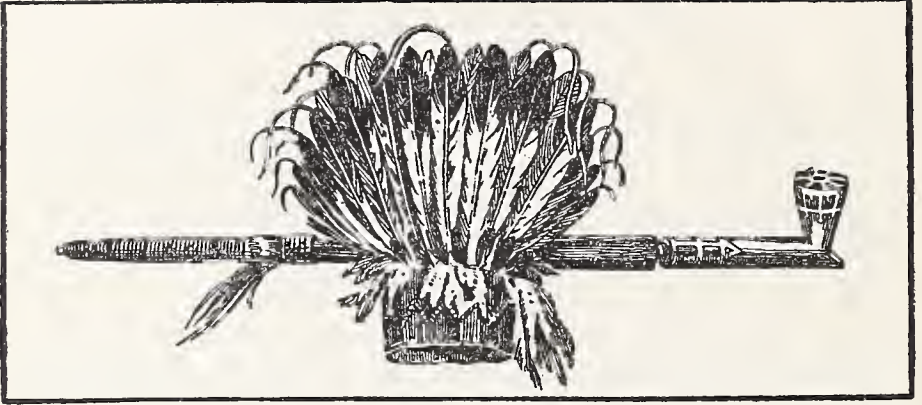
Forty-second Regiment.—Captain John Graham and Lieutenant Duncan Campbell, wounded.

Sixtieth Regiment.—Lieutenant James Dow, wounded.

Seventy-seventh Regiment.—Lieutenant Donald Campbell and Volunteer M. Peebles, wounded.

Total.—Fifty killed, sixty wounded, five missing.





CHAPTER XXXV.

THE PEACE CONFERENCES WITH THE INDIANS.



THERE is still much truth in the old proverb that "the pen is mightier than the sword." In reading of the battles and bloodshed of the French and Indian War it is but natural that they should impress themselves upon our minds, and that we should, in turn, get the feeling that peace was

conquered through war. As a matter of fact, so far as Pennsylvania, and especially the eastern part of the province, was concerned, the cessation of hostilities was due, almost entirely, to diplomacy, and to a diplomacy in which two Pennsylvania-Germans were largely concerned, without whom, the writer does not hesitate to say, the results desired could not have been attained.

Had this result depended upon conquest by force of arms the terrible scenes, of the fall of 1755 and spring

of 1756, would have continued, without intermission and with increasing horror, until 1759. Indeed, there might not have been peace even then had the French, and their Indian allies, made material gains in Pennsylvania. To the reader it must have been apparent, long since, that the provincials were barely able to act on the defensive and stem the encroachments of the savage. To be sure Armstrong's expedition gave temporary relief in some quarters, and Forbes' expedition seemed to meet with even greater success, but we must not forget that the success of the latter was not due to any victorious engagement, but altogether and solely because a Pennsylvania-German Moravian missionary had succeeded in alienating the Indians from the French, and causing them to desert their former allies.

The war had hardly begun when the far-seeing and experienced Conrad Weiser saw the advantages to be gained by diplomatic efforts and peace overtures. Fortunately, his views were entirely in accord with those of the dominant Quaker element, whose principles were of peace and not of war, and who were entirely willing to give material sums of money to accomplish the desired result in this way, while they were most unwilling to contribute a farthing towards the necessary expenses of the war. The government, at once, fell heartily into the project.

In view of the peculiar relations which the Delaware tribe still occupied with the Six Nations, it was felt that the first step to be taken would be to bring a certain pressure to bear upon the former through the latter. Accordingly, by the aid of Sir William Johnson, in New York, the chiefs of the Six Nations were prompted to send messengers to the Delawares and Shawanese, reminding them that they were their vassals, asking why they had taken up arms against their friends, the English, and ordering them to

cease hostilities. This was done in the beginning of 1756. To add to the effect which this would have upon them, and to set in motion the necessary machinery for placating the hostile tribes, on April 26, 1756, the Governor sent Newcastle, Jagrea and William Lacquis, friendly and trustworthy native emissaries, to Diahoga and Wyoming, the headquarters of Teedyuscung, the chief of the Delawares, or as he better became known, the king of the Delawares, and Paxinos, king of the Shawanese, to tell them that the Six Nations forbade their going to war, and offering to make peace.

These messengers returned on June 3d, with most favorable reports, whereupon, on June 8, the governor sent back Newcastle to Teedyuscung, asking him to come to a conference, at the home of Weiser, or any other place he might select. This effort was furthered by Sir William Johnson, who, on July 11, arranged matters with Teedyuscung and Paxinos, whereby they agreed to be governed by the orders of the Six Nations, and to make peace.

On July 18 Newcastle reached Bethlehem, accompanied by Teedyuscung, and, on July 28, the first conference was held, when Teedyuscung, whose heart was with the English rather than the French, was gained over, and consented to act, with Newcastle, as the governor's agent in Pennsylvania for the arrangement of peace and restoration of captives.

Under the head of Fort Allen we have seen how the Delaware chief loitered on his way back, having fallen into the unscrupulous hands of those who took advantage of his weakness for drink.

It was not until October 11, 1756, he again reached Easton, bringing with him a number of unhappy captives, and accompanied by some sixteen Delawares and two

Shawanese, as well as representatives of the Six Nations. On November 8, 1756, the second peace conference took place, and everything progressed nicely until it was noticed that Teedyuscung was keeping back some complaint, over which he had been brooding, and which, apparently, exerted a great influence over him for bad. Through Weiser's skillful questioning it developed that the one great wrong which the Indians felt, and the one sore spot which remained, was the old question of land deeds, and especially that which pertained to the "Walking Purchase." While hesitating to do so, in the presence of representatives from the Six Nations, the Delaware chief could not help but refer to the manner in which they had ordered his people to surrender their lands to the English; he complained of the fraudulent acquisition of their property by the government, and even intimated that the deeds, of which the governor spoke, were not genuine, or that they did not contain such clauses as were declared to be in them. It was a critical period in the conference, and the wisdom of Weiser alone prevented a catastrophe. By his advise, the governor expressed surprise at the charges made, promised to examine into the matter carefully, which, of course, would take time, and to redress all wrongs. A breathing spell having been thus gained, and present friction allayed, various gifts were distributed to the placated Indians who departed, promising to spread the doctrine of peace throughout the other tribes, and then meet the governor once more, bringing with them other prisoners still in their hands.

Unfortunately, at this time the small-pox was prevalent and Newcastle fell a victim to it.

Sir William Johnson, in the meantime, continued the good work at his end of the line, and, on February 16,

1757, wrote that a delegation of the Six Nations had been sent to use their influence with the Delawares and Shawanese for the immediate restoration of the remaining prisoners, and to remind them of their promise made, in the spring of 1756, to lay down the hatchet and have peace. This letter was read by George Croghan, Johnson's representative, to the large number of Indians, gathered at Lancaster in May, 1757, comprising Tuscaroras, Mohawks, Cayugas, Nanticokes, Oneidas, Onondagoes, Senecas, Delawares and Conestogas, all of whom were waiting the arrival of Teedyuscung. On May 9 the governor reached Lancaster, and a conference, of a general character, was held, at which he spoke kind words to the Indians, but, seeing that they were becoming impatient at the non-arrival of the Delaware king, and learning that the latter would not be able to come promptly, he dismissed them, with the understanding that another conference would be called so soon as it was possible for all the Delawares and Shawanese to get together, at which the Six Nations would also be represented.

On May 21 a message was sent to Teedyuscung, asking him to come, but it was not until July that he appeared in the vicinity of Fort Allen, with a large following, so large, indeed, as to create much alarm, as well among the settlers as the Indians, who had been told that the former had planned to cut them off, and would only consent to advance when they had been given safe conduct, and were assured that the rumor was incorrect. In due time they reached Easton, where the government, in turn, had a guard of over one hundred men, from Colonel Weiser's Battalion, to prevent any possible treachery. The party consisted of some 400 Indians, of which 159 were Delawares, 119 Senecas, the remainder of the Six Nations. The confer-

ence lasted from July 21 to August 7, 1757. The prominent figure in it was Teedyuscung, the Delaware king, who stated that he was empowered to speak and act for ten nations, and that they were prepared to take up the consideration of the points in dispute at the previous conference. He demanded a sight of the original land deeds, and proudly declared that his people had now earned the rights to be called "men," and that he, himself, no longer wore the petticoats of a woman, but, by the consent of his "uncles," the Six Nations, his skirts had been cut off, and he stood before them "a man," the king of the Delawares, and the representative of a united ten nations. It was the grand speech of a noble man, but it caused a frown to come to the face of many a delegate from the Six Nations who sat about him.

The demand for a sight of the land deeds brought consternation to the governor, but, once more, the advice and judgment of Weiser came to his aid. In due time the deeds were produced and examined, lengthy, but satisfactory, explanations followed, presents were given the Delawares and promises made, and certain lands, then occupied by them, between the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers to the north of the mountains, were set aside for their use. The conference ended most happily and peace seemed assured.

It only remained to secure the final consent of some of the extreme westerly tribes. To that end the active coöperation of the Moravian missionary, Frederick Post, was secured, whose tireless labors, in the midst of the greatest difficulties and personal danger to himself, finally met with success. The alienation of the Indians from the French was completely effected, resulting in the destruction

of Fort Duquesne and total abandonment of the hard-fought field by the enemy.

From the nature of the conferences held with the Indians, whereby but one step could be taken at a time, and but a part of the hostile tribes gained at each meeting, it can be understood how the business of making peace, diplomatically, took time. As each tribe was gained, however, so many less were the marauding parties, and so much less was the destruction committed. Every effort on the part of Teedyuscung, after the conference of 1756, was with the sincere purpose of bringing the war to an end, so far as his people were concerned. From the testimony given by returned prisoners we have seen how they were then kindly treated by the eastern Delawares, and were told that the scalping parties, which still deluged the frontiers with blood, consisted, mainly, of so-called "French Indians" from the western part of the province.

By 1758 all the hostile Indians were doubtless impressed by the victories which the English had gained over their foe. This, together with the great advances made at the various peace conferences already held, assured the ratification of a general peace, on the part of all the tribes which still remained hostile. At the great conference held in Easton from October 8 to October 26, 1758, a great number of Indians were present, representing all the tribes, the result of which was universal peace, so far as the hapless settlers of Pennsylvania were concerned, until the sudden and terrible outbreak of Pontiac's War in 1763. At this meeting Teedyuscung was, once more, the central figure.

If it were more within the scope of this paper and space would allow, it would be most interesting to discuss the details of these different conferences, and the phases which

they assumed from time to time. The history which we are writing, however, would not be complete without more full reference to four of the prominent actors in the scenes which have been spread before us, without whom the whole transaction would have been barren of results. Two of them were Indians and two white men. Of the former the most prominent Indian had been under the influence of the Pennsylvania-German Moravians, and who can say that this had no bearing on his future actions.

The first Indian was Newcastle, or Captain Newcastle as he is named at times. He was a member of the Six Nations, by whom he was called "Cashrowaya," or "Kanuksusy." When a child he had been formally presented, by his parents, to William Penn, at New Castle. In August, 1755, Governor Morris publicly conferred on him the name of Newcastle, in remembrance of that event, addressing him, on the occasion, in these words:

"In token of our affection for your parents, and in expectation of your being a useful man in these perilous times, I do, in the most solemn manner, adopt you by the name of Newcastle, and order you, hereafter, to be called by that name." He confirmed his words with a belt of eight rows.

Newcastle was truly loyal to the English. It was only by his aid that the preliminary conferences with the hostile Indians became possible, and that Teedyuscung was brought to an interview with the governor in 1756. He died, in the midst of his usefulness, of smallpox, in November of that year.

The other Indian was the Delaware chief, or king, Teedyuscung, a truly great man.

Tadeuskund, or Teedyuscung, was the last Delaware chief east of the Allegheny Mountains. Even before he

was raised to the high position, which he occupied, he had signalized himself as an able counsellor in his nation. In the year 1749 he joined the Christian Indian congregation, and the following year, at his earnest desire, was christened by the name of "Gideon." Before that he had been known as "Honest John." It was not until 1754 that his nation called upon him to assume a military command, and to take the place of their great, good, beloved and peaceable Chief Tademe (commonly called Tattemi), who, some time before, had been murdered in the Forks Settlement by a foolish young white man. His elevation to this position was ratified by the Six Nations, as claimed by Teedyuscung himself when asked the question at the conference in June, 1756.

The great chief was a man of noble impulse and filled with a patriotic feeling for his own people. His one great aim was to make right the wrongs which he felt had been done them, both by the English and the Six Nations, especially in the matter of land purchases, and to elevate his nation to the proud position once occupied by the great Lenni-Lenape, so that they might no longer sit under the opprobrious epithet of "women," but once more stand before their old masters, the Six Nations, as "men," and equals.

To this end, he unhesitatingly assumed the rôle of the most prominent figure at all the conferences held with the Governor, which was actually thrust upon him by circumstances almost beyond his control. It was by his dignity, ability and shrewdness, on these occasions, that he practically succeeded in the accomplishment of the hopes which were nearest his heart, and did, indeed, raise his tribe to a position which they had not occupied for many years.

Back of his patriotic love for his own people there lay a true regard for the English, unaccompanied by any similar feeling for the French. He had lived amongst them, eaten with them, and it was from the lips of the Moravian missionaries he had heard preached the gospel of Christ to which he became a convert. With such sympathies, it was but natural for him to willingly lend his aid to the plans of the government to bring about peace, and this assistance was willingly and honestly given.

Unfortunately, human nature was as weak then as it is now. The faithful labors of Teedyuscung resulted in the birth of enemies against him. As he stood, at the conferences, surrounded by scores of chiefs from other nations and tribes, who could not fail to realize his ability, and could not help but see the prominence he had attained and the attention which was shown him, anything but friendly feelings filled many savage breasts. The representatives of the Six Nations saw their former vassals slipping away from their authority, and made up their minds that he must be gotten rid of; his frequent visits to the governor, and to the people called Quakers (to whom he was much attached, because they were known to be friendly to the Indians) excited much jealousy among some of his own nation, especially the Monseys, who believed that he was carrying on some underhand work, detrimental to the nation at large, on which account, as they wished the continuation of the war, they became his enemies; even the English, for whom he was doing so much, doubted his sincerity because he was not sooner able to bring together the incongruous elements, whose united assent to peace was necessary.

From the precarious situation in which Teedyuscung was placed it was easy to foresee that he would come to an

untimely end, and that he could not long escape the fate intended him. The opportunity came with the outbreak of Pontiac's war, in the spring of 1763. At this time he was quietly living in the Minisink region, above Stroudsburg, which he had made his home, and where he was born, when, in October, 1763, a party of warriors, from the Six Nations, paid him a visit, with a smile of friendship on the face and enmity in the heart. After lingering around for several days, when, doubtless, much liquor was drunk, they succeeded in treacherously setting fire to his house at night, which, with the veteran himself, was burnt to ashes.

To shield themselves, the Indians, who had committed the dastardly deed, blamed it on the white settlers from Connecticut. The result can readily be imagined. Beloved, as the chief was by many of his people, their wrath was kindled intensely by his death, and, especially, by the manner in which it occurred. Parties at once started on the warpath, and committed the depredations which will be narrated in the succeeding chapter.

Besides his title of "King of the Delawares," he was called, by many people, the "War Trumpet," while passing and repassing, to and from the enemy, with messages. In his person he was a tall, portly and well-looking man, endowed with good natural sense, quick of comprehension, and very ready in answering questions put to him. He was proud, thought much of his rank, and was fond of having a retinue with him when attending the various conferences. His greatest weakness was a fondness for strong drink, the temptation of which he could not easily resist, and would sometimes drink to excess. This unfortunate propensity probably gave the opportunity for his cruel and untimely death.

Although grave and dignified, he seems to have been somewhat of a wit. A tradition states that one day he met a blacksmith named Wm. McNabb, a rather worthless fellow, who accosted him with, "Well, cousin, how do you do?" "Cousin, cousin," repeated the haughty red man, "how do you make that out?" "Oh, we are all cousins from Adam," was the reply. "Ah!" retorted Teedyuscung, "then I am glad it is no nearer."

The family of Teedyuscung, in 1756, consisted of his wife, Elizabeth, and three sons, Tachgokanhelle, alias Amos, who married Purgtis, a Jersey Delaware, and sister of the wife of Christian Frederick Post, the missionary; Kesmitas, and John Jacob. Prior to this date the whole family had become members of the Christian Church. Half brothers of the chief were Joe Evans, San Evans and Young Captain Harris, all of whom figure in the French and Indian War.

The two other men of note, in the peace conferences, were Pennsylvania-Germans.

Head and shoulders above every one else stood Conrad Weiser. No one, at this day, can fully realize the problem then before him. On the result of all these gatherings hung either growing peace or continued war. The least misstep meant disaster. Filled with a feeling of wrong committed against them, unexpected situations were constantly cropping out, which had to be met, and unexpected questions were constantly asked, which had to be answered. At times the whole condition of affairs was most acute, and how could it be otherwise when we consider the discordant elements which entered into the meetings. None save he who had a thorough knowledge of the savage nature, language and customs, and who had a full knowledge of the entire condition of affairs in general,

could possibly handle the situation, and avoid falling into the many pit-falls by which he was surrounded. The only man to meet all these requirements was Weiser, and, under Providence, the Province of Pennsylvania owes him a further debt of gratitude in that he, more than any one else, was instrumental in bringing peace to it.

Hardly less entitled to praise and thanks was the little known, and less heard of, Moravian missionary, Christian Frederick Post, whose life of labor and love was mostly spent among the aborigines on the outer limit of civilized settlement. However friendly disposed Teedyuscung, and those under his direct control, there were the more western tribes who still clung to the French. Unless they could be alienated from them the capture of Fort Duquesne seemed almost a physical impossibility; without the fall of this fortress, and the departure of the French, peace was equally remote. The work of bringing about this alienation was entrusted to Post, the only man capable of accomplishing it, because of his connection with the Indians, and their esteem for him. How well he did it we have already seen in our record of General Forbes' expedition in 1758. We have read how, abandoned by his savage allies, the French commander was forced to flee as he saw the British army approach, with their dying general, whom the Indians called the "Head of Iron." Mr. Frank Cowan, the poet of southwestern Pennsylvania, tells the story in one of his songs, of which we give a verse:

"The Head of Iron, from his couch,
Gave courage and command,
Which Washington, Bouquet and Grant
Repeated to the band;
Till, hark! the Highlanders began
With their chieftain's words to swell,

‘To-night, I shall sup and drain my cup
In Fort DuQuesne—or Hell!’
But the man of Prayer, and not of boast,
Had spoken first, in Frederick Post.”

To show the estimation in which this noble man was held by the authorities, and as an interesting record of his later life, we quote the words of a pass-port given him in 1767.

“PASSPORT FOR C. FREDERICK POST, 1767.

“The Honourable John Penn, Esquire, Lieutenant Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Province of Pennsylvania, and the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, in Delaware.

“To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

“*Whereas*, Mr. Christian Frederick Post has been frequently employed by this Government in messages of great Importance to the several Nations of Indians, as well distant as bordering nations, in which he always acted faithfully and gave entire satisfaction, and particularly by his care and prudence in the execution of a message sent in ye year 1758, to all the Tribes of the Indians then at war with His Majesty, was very instrumental in disposing them to quit the French, and join themselves to the King’s Army, then marching under General Forbes to Fort DuQuesne, by means whereof the French Garrison blew up and deserted that Fort, and whereas, the said Christian Post has been regularly ordained a Deacon in the church of the Unitas Fratrum, known and distinguished by the name of the Moravian Church, and in that Quality of Deacon, hath had several commissions from former Governors of this Province to go amongst and preach the Gospel to ye Indians in alliance w’th his Majesty, as well Six Nations as

Delawares, and other Tribes of Indians, And whereas, the s'd Chris. Frederick Post hath now informed us that he is just arrived from the Musquito Shore, where he has been for some time resident, and has obtained a regular invitation, as well from the English inhabitants living on ye Musquito Shore, as from the principal Indians on that Coast, to return to them, and to become their minister for ye preaching of ye Gospel, and the administration of ye Sacraments, and the said Chris. Frederick Post hath, in my presence, subscribed his assent and consent to the Liturgy of the Church of England, and expressed his entire approbation of the Province's forms and ceremonies used in the established church, and hath further declared that he will conform thereto as far as is practicable in such a country, with such people as he is called to minister amongst, and he is purposed to return to ye Musquito Shore, and try, under God, what he can do to promote their salvation.

"And whereas, it hath been made appear to me, as well by letters as by ye testimony of academy in this city, and by the Rev. Mr. Peters, Rector of the United Churches of Christ Church & St. Peters, in this city, & of the Rev'd Mr. Smith, Provost of the College & Academy in this city, that ye s'd Chris. Frederick Post is agreeable & hath received presents and other Encouragement from ye honourable Society for ye propagation of ye Gospel whilst he was among ye Musquito Indians.

"Now Know ye, that in consideration of the Benefits, and from ye Esteem he is in, w'th me and sundry others to whom he is known in this and the neighbouring Provinces, I do most heartily approve of ye desire to assist him in this, his weighty and pious Resolution, and do now affectionately recommend him to the King and good offices of

all his Majesty's Governors, Magistrates and officers, both Civil and Military, in places thro' which he may have occasion to travel, and particularly to his Excellency, ye Governor of Jamaica, to whom he proposes first to go, and who knows these his purposes, to the end that he may have & receive his Excellency's approbation and protection in ye good work he has undertaken.

"Given under my hand and ye Great Seal of said Province, at Philadelphia, this 21st April, 1767."

Christian Frederick Post died in Germantown, April 29, 1785, and, on May 1, his remains were interred in the "Lower Graveyard," of that place, the Rev. William White, then Rector of Christ Church, conducting the funeral services. His tombstone is near the gateway, to the right. But little is known of him prior to his arrival in America. His birthplace seems to have been Konitz, a town at the southern end of the Muskonderfer Lake, in the present West Prussia. The year of his birth—1710—is on record, but not the exact date. No data are in existence concerning his parentage.

THE OUTBREAK OF 1763 IN EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

Pontiac's outbreak, in itself, would have caused hardly a ripple of excitement east of the Susquehanna River. When, however, their great chief Teedyuscung had been so foully put to death, in their wrath and desire for vengeance the Delawares took advantage of the hostilities, begun by Pontiac, to dig up the hatchet themselves and once more spread death, misery and destruction all about them. As usual the innocent Pennsylvania-German frontiersmen were again the chief sufferers. Under the captions of the various forts and defenses various incidents of

murder and massacre, pertaining to this period, have already been enumerated.

In the neighborhood of Northampton County, however, there was added reason why the blood of the Indian should have been stirred up to hostilities. One occurrence, which is of sufficient interest to entitle it to a separate chapter, is narrated in "Heckewelder's Account of the Indian Nations," as follows:

"In the summer of the year 1763, some friendly Indians, from a distant place, came to Bethlehem to dispose of their peltry for manufactured goods and necessary implements of husbandry. Returning home, well satisfied, they put up the first night at a tavern (John Stenton's) near the Irish Settlement eight miles distant from Bethlehem. The landlord not being at home, his wife took the liberty of encouraging the people who frequented her house for the sake of drinking, to abuse those Indians, adding that she would freely give a gallon of rum to any one of them that would kill one of these black devils. Other white people from the neighborhood came in during the night, who also drank freely, made a great deal of noise, and increased the fears of those poor Indians, who—for the greatest part understood English—could not but suspect something bad was intended against their persons. They were, however, not otherwise disturbed; but in the morning, when after a restless night they were preparing to set off, they found themselves robbed of some of their most valuable articles they had purchased, and on mentioning this to a man who appeared to be the bar-keeper, they were ordered to leave the house. Not being willing to lose so much property, they retired to some distance in the woods, when, some of them remaining with what was left them, the others returned to Bethlehem and lodged

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FRONT VIEW DESLER HOUSE OF BRIDGE

their complaint with a justice of the peace. The magistrate gave them a letter to the landlord, pressing him without delay to restore to the Indians the goods, that had been taken from them. But, behold! when they delivered that letter to the people of the inn, they were told in answer, that if they set any value on their lives they must make off with themselves immediately. They well understood that they had no other alternative, and prudently departed without having received back any of their goods. Arrived at Nescopeck, on the Susquehanna, they fell in with some other Delaware Indians, who had been treated much in the same manner, one of them having his rifle stolen from him. Here the two parties agreed to take revenge in their own way for those insults and robberies for which they could obtain no redress, and this they determined to do as soon as war should be again declared by their nation against the English."

As a proof of the truth of this narrative Heckewelder adds a note:

"This relation is authentic. I have received it from the mouth of the chief of the injured party, and his statement was confirmed by communications made at the time by two respectable magistrates of the county. Justice Geiger's letter to Tim. Horsfield proves this fact."

About the same time as this unfortunate occurrence, another one of a similar character took place, which is given in Loskill's "*History of the Missions of the Indians in America*," as follows:

"In August, 1763, Zachary and his wife, who had left the congregation in Wechquetank—on Poca Poca (Head's) Creek, north of the Blue Mountains, settled by Moravian Indians—(where they had belonged, but left some time previous), came on a visit, and did all in their power to

disquiet the minds of the brethren respecting the intentions of the white people. A woman, called Zippora, was persuaded to follow them. On their return they staid at the Buchkabuchka (this is the name the Munsey's have for the Lehigh Water Gap—it means 'mountains butting opposite each other') over night, where Captain Wetterholt (Nicholas) lay with a company of soldiers, and went unconcerned to sleep in a hay loft. But in the night they were surprised by the soldiers. Zippora was thrown down upon the threshing floor and killed; Zachary escaped out of the house, but was pursued, and with his wife and little child put to the sword, although the mother begged for their lives upon her knees."

The presence of Captain Wetterholt at Lehigh Gap was probably owing to the fact that he was on his way either to or from Fort Allen, at Weissport, where a body of soldiers, under his command was still stationed. His lieutenant, at this time, was a man named Jonathan Dodge, who seems to have been a most precious scoundrel, who committed many atrocious acts against his fellow-soldiers, also against the inhabitants of Northampton County, but particularly against the Indians.

In August, 1763, four Indians came to his fort, from whom he took four rifles and frontier deer-skins, weighing thirty-one pounds. After the Indians had left he took twenty men and pursued them, and ordered his men to fire a volley at them. These were friendly inoffensive Indians, who had come from Shamokin on their way to Bethlehem.

On September 9, Jacob Warner, a soldier, made the statement that he and Dodge were searching for a lost gun, when, about two miles from Fort Allen, they saw three Indians painted black. Dodge fired upon them and killed one; Warner also fired upon them, and thought he

wounded another, but two of them escaped; the Indians had not fired at them. The Indian was scalped, and the scalp sold to some person in Philadelphia who gave eight dollars for it. These were also friendly Indians.

On October 4, Dodge was charged with disabling Peter Frantz, a soldier; for striking him with a gun, and ordering his men to lay down their arms if the captain should blame him about the scalp.

In a letter of this date, Captain Nicholas Wetterholt wrote to Mr. Horsfield:

"If he (Dodge) is to remain in the company, not one man will remain. I never had so much trouble and uneasiness as I have had these few weeks; and if he continues in the service any longer, I don't propose to stay any longer. I intend to confine him only for this crime."

On October 5 Captain Wetterholt placed Lieutenant Jonathan Dodge under arrest "for striking and abusing Peter Frantz," and sent him in charge of Captain Jacob Wetterholt, Sergeant Laurence McGuire, and some soldiers, to Timothy Horsfield, at Bethlehem. We are not told the result, but merely know that on October 7 the party left Bethlehem on their way back to Fort Allen. That the same evening they arrived at John Stenton's tavern and lodged for the night. Unsuspicious of danger, Captain Wetterholt failed to place sentrys about the building. During the night, the Indians unperceived and unsuspected, approached the house. What happened at break of day, on October 8, is thus related:

"The Capt. designing early in the morning to proceed for the fort, ordered a servant out to get his horse ready, who was immediately shot down by the enemy; upon the Captain going to the door he was also mortally wounded, and a sergeant, who attempted to draw the Captain in, was

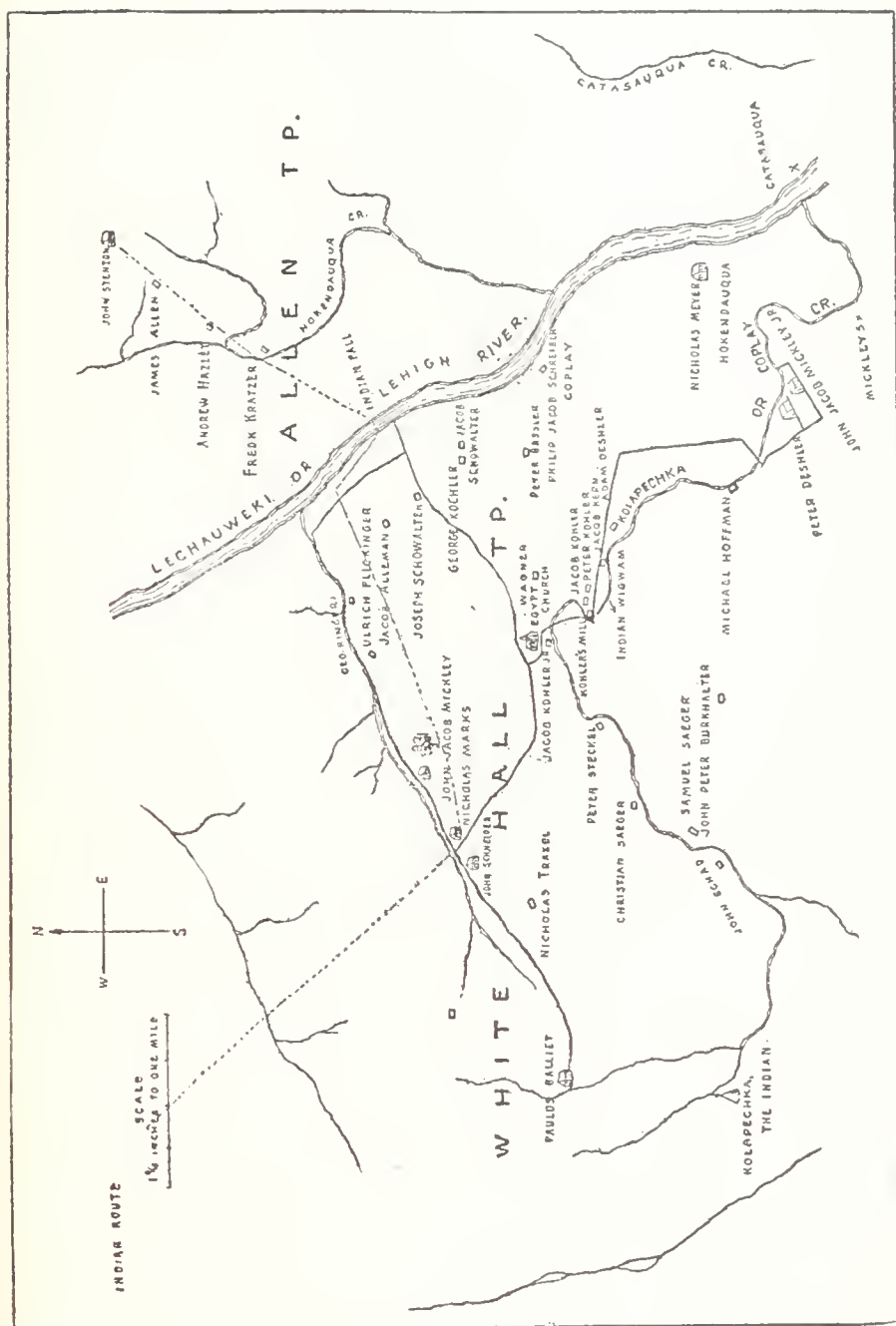
also dangerously hurt. The lieutenant then advanced, when an Indian jumping on the bodies of the two others, presented a pistol to his breast, which, he putting aside, it went off over his shoulder, whereby he got the Indian out of the house and shut the door. The Indians then went around to a window, and, as Stenton was getting out of bed, shot him; but, rushing from the house, he was able to run a mile before he dropped dead. His wife and two children ran into the cellar; they were fired upon three times, but escaped uninjured. Capt. Witherholt, notwithstanding his wound, crawled to a window, whence he killed one of the Indians who were setting fire to the house; the others ran off, bearing with them their dead companion."

The wounded were taken to Bethlehem where Captain Wetterholt died the next day, at the Crown Inn, and so passed away a brave and energetic officer who deserved a better fate.

This was but the beginning of the revenge which the savages had determined to take. An extract from a Bethlehem letter of October 9 says:

"Early this morning came Nicholas Marks, of Whitehall Township, and brought the following account, viz:

"That Yesterday, just after dinner, as he opened his door, he saw an Indian standing about two poles from the house, who endeavored to shoot at him; but, Marks shutting the door immediately, the fellow slipped into a cellar, close to the house. After this said Marks went out of the house, with his wife and an apprentice boy, (This apprentice boy was the late George Graff, of Allentown, then fifteen years of age. He ran to Philip Jacob Schrieber with the news of these murders. He was Captain of a company in the Revolutionary War. In 1786 he resigned as Collector of the Excise, and was Sheriff of Northamp-



ton County in the years 1787-8-9. For three years he was a member of the Legislature, then holding its sessions in Philadelphia, from December 3, 1793 to December, 1796. He lived many years in Allentown, where he died in 1835, in the 88th year of his age) in order to make his escape, and saw another Indian standing behind a tree. They then saw the third Indian running through the orchard; upon which they made the best of their way, about two miles off, to Adam Deshler's place, where twenty men in arms were assembled, who went first to the house of John Jacob Mickley, where they found a boy and girl lying dead, and the girl scalped. From thence they went to Hans Schneider's and said Mark's plantations, and found both houses on fire, and a horse tied to the bushes. They also found said Schneider, his wife and three children, dead in the field, the man and woman scalped; and, on going further, they found two others wounded, one of whom was scalped. After this they returned with the two wounded girls to Adam Deshler's, and saw a woman, Jacob Alleman's wife, with a child, lying dead in the road and scalped. The number of Indians they think was about fifteen, or twenty.

"I cannot describe the deplorable condition this poor country is in, most of the inhabitants of Allen's Town and other places are fled from their habitations. Many are in Bethlehem, and other places of the Brethren, and others further down the country. I cannot ascertain the number killed but think it exceeds twenty. The people of Nazareth, and other places belonging to the Brethren, have put themselves in the best posture of defence they can; they keep a strong watch every night, and hope, by the blessing of God, if they are attacked, to make a good stand.

“In a letter from the same county, of the 10th instant, the number killed is said to be twenty-three, besides a great many dangerously wounded; that the inhabitants are in the utmost distress and confusion, flying from their places, some of them with hardly sufficient to cover themselves, and that it was to be feared there were many houses, &c. burned, and lives lost that were not known. And by a gentleman from the same quarter we are informed that it was reported, when he came away, that Yost’s mill, about eleven miles from Bethlehem, was destroyed, and all the people that belonged to it, excepting a young man, cut off.”

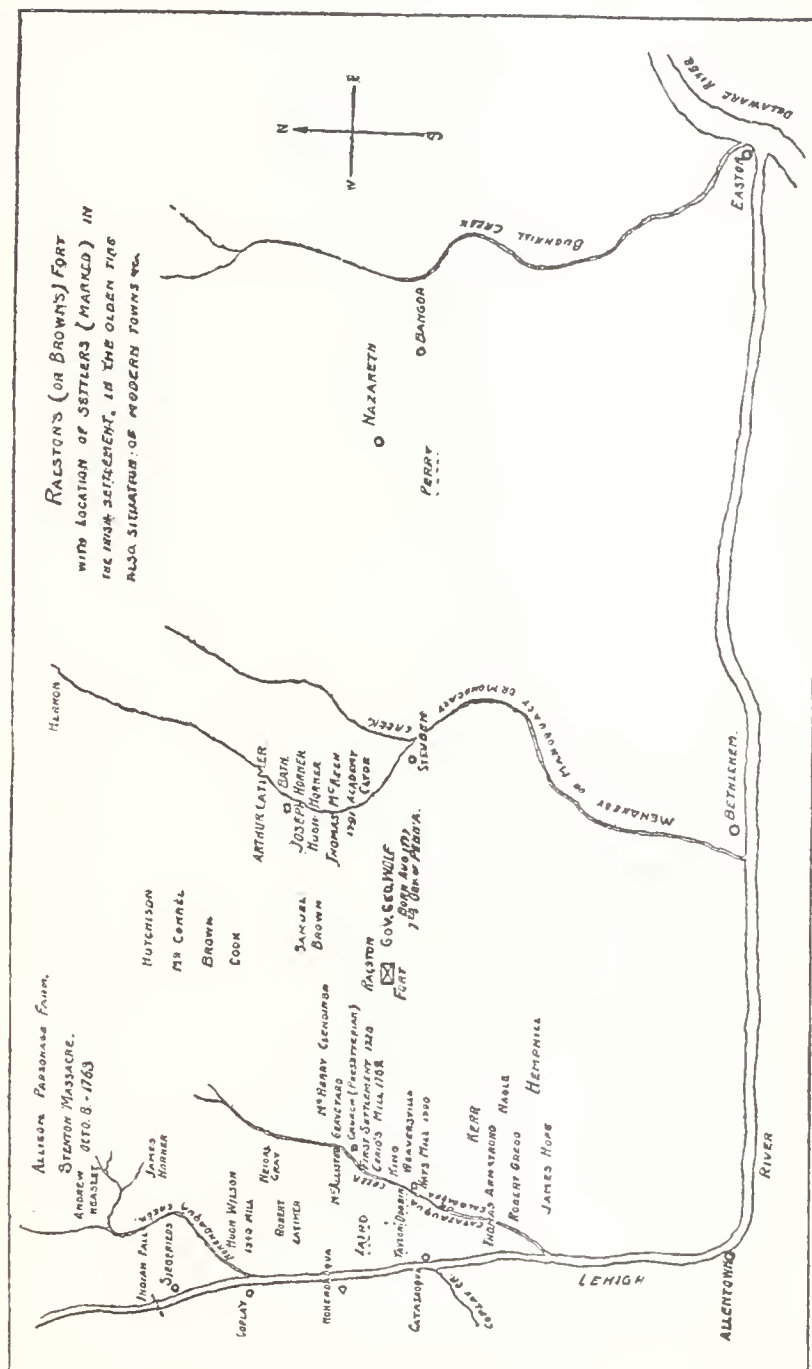
After the deplorable disaster at Stenton’s house, the Indians plundered James Allen’s house, a short distance off; after which they attacked Andrew Hazlet’s house, half a mile from Allen’s, where they shot and scalped a man. Hazlet attempted to fire on the Indians, but missed, and was shot himself, which his wife, some distance off, saw. She ran off with two children, but was pursued and overtaken by the Indians, who caught and tomahawked her and the children in a dreadful manner; yet she and one of the children lived until four days after, and the other child recovered. Hazlet’s house was plundered. About a quarter of a mile from there the Indians burned down Kratzer’s house, probably after having plundered it. Then a party of Indians proceeded to a place on the Lehigh, a short distance above Siegfried’s Bridge, to this day known as the “Indian Fall” or Rapids, where twelve Indians were seen wading across the river by Ulrich Showalter, who then lived on the place recently owned by Peter Troxel. Showalter was at that time working on the roof of a building, the site of which being considerably elevated above the river Lehigh, he had a good opportunity to see and count the Indians, who, after having

crossed the river, landed near Leisenring's Mountain. It is to be observed that the greater part of this township was then still covered with dense forests, so that the Indians could readily move from place to place without being seen. They were not noticed by any one, save Showalter, until they reached the farm of John Jacob Mickley, where they encountered three of his children, two boys and a girl, in a field under a chestnut tree, where they were gathering chestnuts. The children's ages were: Peter, eleven; Henry, nine; and Barbara, seven; who, on seeing the Indians, began to run away. The little girl was overtaken, not far from the tree, and knocked down with a tomahawk. Henry had reached the fence, and, while in the act of climbing it, an Indian threw a tomahawk at his back, which is supposed to have killed him instantly. Both of these children were scalped. The little girl, in an insensible state, lived until the following morning. Peter, having reached the woods, hid himself between two large trees which were standing near together and surrounded by brushwood, where he remained quietly concealed, not daring to move for fear of being discovered, until sure that the Indians had left. Hearing the screams of the Schneider family he knew his way was clear and ran, with all his might, by way of Adam Deshler's house, to his brother, John Jacob Mickley, to whom he communicated the melancholy intelligence and with whom he took up his abode.

Thoroughly alarmed by these depredations the people of the county formed themselves into a military company, and wrote the governor for arms and ammunition. The following names of members of this company are recorded:

George Wolf, *Captain*,
Abraham Rinker, *Lieutenant*,

John Martin Dourr,
Peter Ruth,



MAP OF THE IRISH SETTLEMENT.

Philip Koogler,
Peter Miller,
Frederick Schakler,
Leonard Abell,
Tobias Dittis,
Lorenz Stauck,
Simon Brenner,
Jacob Wolf,
Simon Lagundacker,
George Nicolaus,
David Deschler,

France Keffer,
Jacob Morr,
Martin Frolick,
George Laur,
Daniel Nonnemaker,
Peter Shab,
Abraham Sawitz,
John Schreck,
George S. Schnepf,
Michael Readcot.

The danger, however, passed as quickly as it came. The Indians came to wreak vengeance for their wrongs, and that accomplished they returned.

THE IRISH SETTLEMENT.

Adjoining the scene of the above massacres, and participating in them, was the Irish Settlement, of which mention has been made heretofore. As early as 1728 John Boyd, who had married Jane Craig, went with Colonel Thomas Craig from Philadelphia and settled at a place on the Catasauqua Creek, known later as the Craig Settlement. This became, by 1731, the nucleus of a Scotch-Irish colony, whence came George Wolf, the seventh governor of Pennsylvania. In time the Germans gradually pushed out and supplanted their neighbors of other blood, and now occupy the territory.

At daybreak, on Saturday morning, October 8, 1763, as the Indians were stealthily making their way towards John Stenton's inn, they chanced to meet Jane, the wife of James Horner, living near by, who was on her way to a neighbor's for some coals with which to light her morning fire. Fearing she would betray them, and raise an alarm, they dispatched her with their tomahawks. Her body lies at rest in the graveyard of the Allen Township Presbyterian

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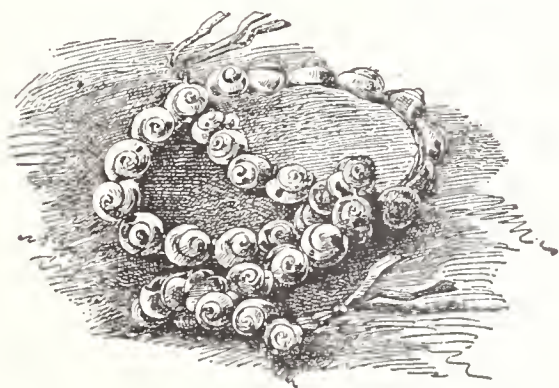


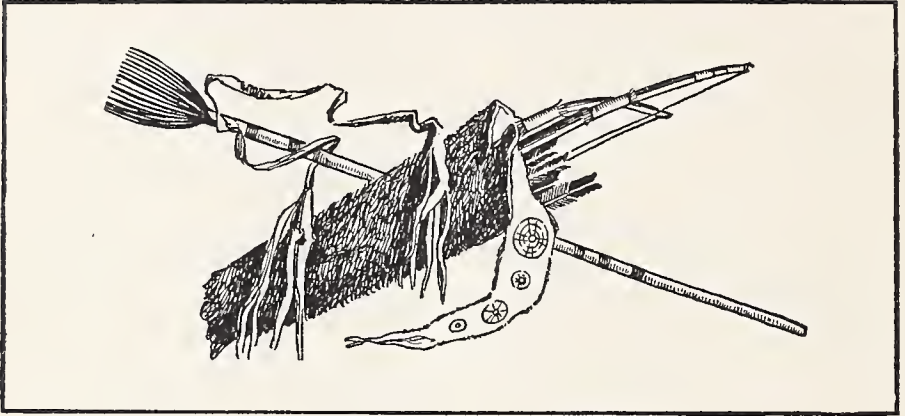
RALSTON AND BROWN STOCKADE—IRISH SETTLEMENT.

church, with that of General Brown, another distinguished son of the settlement. The inscription on her tomb is as follows:

“In memory of Jane, wife of James Horner, who suffered death by the hands of the Savage Indians October Eighth, Seventeen Hundred and Sixty-three, aged fifty years.”

A more detailed account of the Irish Settlement would be interesting did it have any further bearing on our subject.





CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE PAXTANG BOYS.



OUR history of the French and Indian War would be incomplete without some reference to the "Paxtang Boys." It is a fittingly sad ending to a sad subject, and too truly illustrative of the savagery which had become instilled into the breasts of the white men, as well as the red, after years of massacre and butchery. Its valuable con-

nection with our subject rests not in the fact that the Pennsylvania-Germans took an active part in the occurrences which are to follow, but in the fact that they had nothing whatever to do with them, and that their record is free from any stain which might have rested upon it in case of any such participation.

By January, 1757, public services began to be performed at Bethlehem, in the Indian language, by the Moravians. On June 10, 1757, the first house was built at Nain, for the accommodation of the Indian Brethren who would not remove to Wyoming, but the war retarded the progress of the buildings, and it was not until the autumn of 1758 that Nain was completed, and the Indians removed thither. The settlement increased so fast that, in 1760, it became necessary to establish a new station at Wequetauk, beyond the Blue Mountains.

In 1763, when the frontiers were again overrun by scalping parties of western Indians, some of these parties occasionally skulked about the Moravian Indian towns, and this circumstance, together with the simultaneous massacre of the Stenton family, and others about the Irish Settlement, revived the old jealousies between the Scotch-Irish settlers of the Kittatinny Valley and the Moravian Brethren.

The Irish declared that no Indians should dare to show themselves in the woods, or they would be shot dead immediately; and that if only one more white man were murdered in this neighborhood, the whole Irish Settlement would rise in arms and kill all the inhabitants of Wequetauk, without waiting for an order from the government, or an order from a justice of the peace. The Indians at Wequetauk were obliged to quit the place and take refuge at Nazareth. The same threatening messages were sent to Nain. The day after the Stenton massacre, October 9, 1763, about fifty white men assembled on the opposite side of the Lehigh, with a view to surprise Nain in the night, and murder all the inhabitants. A neighboring friend, however, representing the danger and difficulty of such an attempt, in strong terms, the enemy forsook their intentions and returned home, while the brethren praised God

for this very merciful preservation. Still, the congregation at Nain was blockaded on all sides. The murders of the New England people at Wyoming increased the fury of the white people. The inhabitants of Nain no longer ventured to go to Bethlehem on business. No Indian dared to collect wood, or to look after his cattle, without a white brother to accompany him, or a passport in his pocket.

About November 8 the Moravian Indians were ordered by the government to repair to Philadelphia for protection, where they were lodged in the barracks. The Indians from the mission at Wyalusing also went there, for the same reason.

Wequetauk was burnt by the white people, and, in the night of November 18, some incendiaries endeavored to set fire to Bethlehem. The oil mill was consumed, and the fury of the flames was such that the adjoining water-works were saved with difficulty.

Besides their missionary work amongst the Delawares and Six Nations, the Moravians were also actively interested in the spiritual welfare of the remnant of the Conestoga Indians. This was now but a small tribe, consisting in all of some dozen or twenty families, who dwelt on the Conestoga flats east of Turkey Hill, a few miles below Lancaster. They sent messengers with corn, venison and skins to welcome William Penn, and a treaty of amity was concluded between him and them, "to endure as long as the sun should shine or the waters run into the rivers." This chain of friendship was often brightened, from time to time, and, as the whites began to settle around them, Penn assigned them a residence within his jurisdiction, on the manor of Conestoga. Here they enjoyed many years of peaceful residence, in friendly intercourse with the peo-

ple of Lancaster, until the sad catastrophe which exterminated the tribe.

The village of the Conestogas is noted, in early colonial history, as the scene of many important councils between the Proprietary governors and the aborigines. William Penn is said to have visited them once; James Logan was here in 1705; Governor Evans in 1707, with a retinue of officers; Governor Gookin in 1710 and 1711; and Governor Keith in 1721.

The feeling which existed amongst the Scotch-Irish against the Moravian Indians, in Northampton County, extended to the Susquehanna. On the night of December 14, 1763, a number of armed and mounted men, from the townships of Donegal and Paxton, most of them belonging to the company of frontier rangers of those townships, concerted an attack on the Indians at Conestoga, for the purpose, as they alleged, of securing one or more hostile Indians who were harbored there, and who were supposed to have recently murdered several families of the whites. The number of the Paxton men is variously estimated from twenty to upwards of fifty. Few of the Indians were home, the men probably being absent either in hunting or trading their baskets and furs at Lancaster. In the dead of night the white men fell upon the village; some defence was doubtless attempted by the few male Indians present (Dr. Franklin says there were but three men, two women and a young boy), but they were overpowered and all fell victims to the rifle, tomahawk and knife of the frontier men. The dwellings were burned to the ground.

The citizens and magistrates of Lancaster, who were shocked at the horrible outrage, with commendable humanity gathered the scattered individuals of the tribe, who remained, into the stone workhouse at Lancaster, where

under bolt and bars, and the strict supervision of the keeper, they could not doubt but the Indians would be safe until they could be conveyed to Philadelphia for more secure protection.

But the Paxton men were satisfied with nothing short of the extermination of the tribe, alleging that one or two of the hostile Indians were still among those protected by the civil authority at Lancaster. Concealing themselves at night, near the town, they waited until the next day, December 27, when the whole community was engaged in the solemnities of the sanctuary, when, riding in at a gallop, the band seized upon the keeper of the workhouse and overpowered him, then, rushing into the prison, the work of death was speedily accomplished; the poor Indians, about fourteen in number, were left weltering in gore, while the Paxton men rode out of the town in the same haste with which they had entered it. The alarm was immediately raised, but, before the citizens could assemble, the murderers were beyond their reach. In consequence of this affair, the Moravian Indians from Wyalusing and Nain, who had come to Philadelphia for protection, were removed to Province Island, near the city, and placed under the charge of the garrison.

The Paxton men, elated by their success, assembled in great numbers, early in January, threatening to march to Philadelphia in a body and to destroy the Indians there. The people of the city were greatly alarmed, and several companies of foot, horse and artillery were formed to repel the expected attack. The Paxton men, who had approached the Schuylkill on their march, finding such a force prepared to receive them, returned home.

A proclamation was issued by the governor, expressing the strongest indignation at the outrages committed at



The German bleeds and bears ye furs
Of Quaker lords and savage curs,

The Hibernian frets with new disaster
And kicks to fling his broad-brimmed master,

But help at hand resolves to hold down
The Hibernians head or tumble all down.

A PAXTON CARICATURE.

Conestoga and Lancaster, and offering a reward for the arrest of the perpetrators; but such was the state of feeling in the townships where resided the guilty persons that no one dared bring the offenders to justice, although they mingled openly with their fellow-citizens.

The press of the day teemed with pamphlets, letters, appeals and caricatures, many of which are still preserved. While some of these present calm and forcible arguments on their respective sides, others exhibit the most rancorous malignity, and others show that their age was not a whit behind our own in the scurrility of its political writers. After the Indians were killed, all parties busied themselves, as usual in such cases, to ascertain who was to blame. The governor was blamed for not having removed the Indians long before to Philadelphia, as he had been repeatedly warned to do. The Quakers and Moravians were blamed for fostering murderous Indians, and sheltering them from merited vengeance. The magistrates of Lancaster were charged with remissness of duty, since they might have applied to Captain Robinson, then stationed at the barracks in Lancaster with his company, for a guard; but the magistrates say they did apply to him, and he denied their request. The citizens of Lancaster, too, and the keeper of the workhouse, were charged with collusion and connivance with the Paxton men; but they indignantly denied the charge. And the whole Presbyterian Church, it was plainly insinuated, was, if not aiding and abetting in the massacre, ready, at all events, to shield the guilty from punishment and extenuate the crime.

“The insurgents,” says Gordon, “were not the ignorant and vulgar of the border counties—persons more likely to yield to their passions than to respect the laws of their country and of humanity. They were of such consideration

that, whilst the public voice and the press execrated the cruelty and illegality of their conduct, they forbore to name the guilty individuals. Nor did the latter remain silent, and shrink from reproach without an attempt at self-defence. They urged the repeated murders perpetrated by the Indians, and their convictions of the union of the neutral with the belligerent tribes."

It must certainly be admitted that the border-men had good cause to be enraged against the Indians, yet, after reading all the evidence, which "The Paxtang Boys" have collected and adduced in extenuation of their action, the conviction still remains that it was an outrage deserving of all condemnation.



THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



STATUE PRESENTED BY THE GERMAN KAISER WILLIAM II.
UNVEILED AT WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 19, 1904.

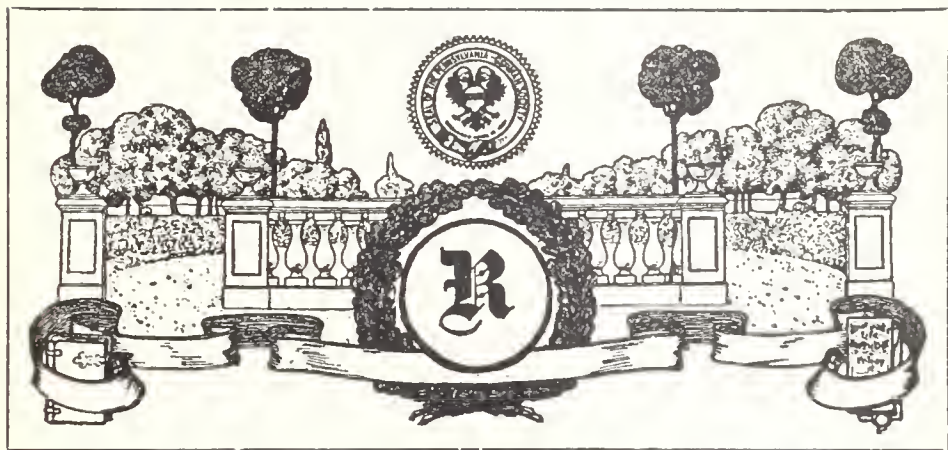
Frederick the Great and the United States

A PAPER READ BEFORE
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY
AT THE
FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING
HELD AT
GERMANTOWN, OCTOBER 25, 1904

BY
J. G. ROSENGARTEN



LANCASTER, PA.
1906



FREDERICK THE GREAT AND THE UNITED STATES.*



IN view of the presentation of a statue of Frederick the Great to the United States by the Emperor of Germany it may be of interest to refer to the contemporary sources of information as to the relation of Frederick the Great to the American Revolution.

There is much interest in seeing how that great soldier followed the course of events in America and with what kind of welcome he received the American agents sent to Europe to enlist recognition, aid and support in the struggle for independence.

* A paper read before the Pennsylvania German Society at Germantown, October 25, 1904, by J. G. Rosengarten.

The best authority on this subject is Frederick Kapp, whose two books dealing with the subject have not been translated. One is "Frederick the Great and the United States," published in Leipsic in 1871, and the other "The Traffic in Soldiers," published in Berlin in 1874. To these may be added "The Hessians and the other Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War," by Edward F. Lowell of Boston, published by Harpers in 1884, and the "Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution," edited by Sparks. Little on the subject is to be found in Carlisle's "Life of Frederick the Great," or in the latest German biography, that by Kosen, or in any of the other biographies of Frederick.

Frederick the Great was very unfriendly to the English government of Lord Bute for its failure to carry out the support promised and given him by the elder Pitt when he was at its head. When the war of American Independence broke out, Frederick was charged by the English ministry with preventing England from hiring a Russian corps to fight for it in America and with allowing Prussian officers to serve with the Americans. Both charges were groundless, but served to show England's fear of Frederick's revenge for old injuries. Neither Steuben nor DeKalb was in his service when they volunteered in the American Revolution, and the other German officers who joined them did so of their own good will, and not with his sanction. The many "King of Prussia" tavern signs attest that Frederick was popular in America. As the leader of Protestant resistance to Austrian aggression, alike in Puritan New England, among the Germans of Pennsylvania and in New York, and with the leaders of the American Revolution, he was looked on as the ablest sovereign and greatest soldier in Europe, and his heroic

struggle was pointed out as an example for America in its war for independence. Every expression of his hostility to England and his contempt for the German princes who sold their soldiers to England was published here.

Washington, Franklin, Greene, all spoke of him with admiration. Steuben was welcomed as one of his soldiers. Jefferson spoke of his death as a European disaster and an event that affected the whole world.

Frederick was guided in all he said and did by the interests of Prussia. He hoped to secure advantages by opening a trade between his ports and those of America, by exchanging his linen and iron and other wares for tobacco and other American products. His representative in Paris met Silas Deane and reported to the King his request to establish diplomatic and commercial relations, recommending a commercial treaty. The King was ready to supply arms and other munitions of war in exchange for and when the Americans could land tobacco in his ports at a reasonable rate.

A succession of American diplomatic agents went to Berlin, but the King would not recognize them officially, although his ministers said that when France recognized American independence, he would do so too. Frederick wrote to his brother to watch Washington and learn how he carried on war against Howe and Burgoyne. He granted the request of the American agent to buy arms in Prussia. He rendered, perhaps unwittingly, a still more important service by refusing permission to take German soldiers, on their way to join the English army in America, through his dominions, and thus delayed reinforcements, when Howe was waiting patiently for them, so that the Americans really were helped by him. His refusal kept these German troops idle in Germany all through the

winter of 1777-8, while Washington and his little army were suffering at Valley Forge. Frederick's course was almost as useful to Washington as an alliance or recognition, for it gave him time and helped to change the fortunes of war, while, as the King said, without a fleet or forts to protect his ports, recognition could do no good. He saw and said that the business of recruiting German soldiers to serve against America was depopulating Germany of the men needed for his army. He watched the successes of the American army and felt a personal pride in that of the German soldiers serving in it, although Riedesel had married the daughter of the Prussian Minister of War, Massow, and his imprisonment after Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, was a source of great regret to his friends in Berlin and the Prussian army. The King wrote in October, 1777, "I never think of the present war in America without being unpleasantly affected by the greed of some German princes, who sacrifice their troops in a war that don't concern them at all. My astonishment increases when I see this violation of our Old German rule, never to spill German blood in behalf of foreign interests."

In 1778 he wrote to his minister in London: "I will never lend myself to an alliance with England. I am not like so many German princes to be gained by money." His minister wrote: "The German Princes who have hired their troops, besides having rendered themselves extremely odious, have suffered greatly by the emigration of their subjects, for fear of being forced into this service, which is excessively unpopular through all Germany"; and later, "His Majesty has refused passage to the auxiliary troops of Germany destined for America. He interests himself very much in the events of your war and wishes that your efforts may be crowned with success." Later he made a

commercial treaty with the United States on terms that were very liberal, and thus set an example that other European powers soon followed.

The legend that he presented a sword to Washington inscribed "From the oldest to the greatest General," is based on the gift of a sword with a very fulsome dedication engraved on it by a cutler in Solingen. It had a curious history, for the son of the maker brought it to Philadelphia, when Washington was living here as President, pawned it in a tavern, where it was redeemed by some unknown person, who took it to Alexandria, whence it was sent to Mount Vernon. Washington never knew who this was. His letter on the subject is printed, with a note explaining the real facts of the gift, in the eleventh volume of Sparks' "Washington," p. 169, etc. Now, however, the successor of the great Frederick has given the United States his statue as a memorial of German friendship. It may well serve to show how large a measure of influence Germans and Germany have had in the making of the United States, and the friendship of the Emperor of Germany and the German people for the Republic of the United States, and it will recall the share the great Frederick had in the success of the American Colonies in their struggle for independence and in the welcome extended to the new republic by the old King of Prussia.

In Sparks, Vol. 11, p. 169, etc.: Washington writes to John Quincy Adams, Philadelphia, 12 September, 1796: "Sometime ago, perhaps two or three months, I read in some gazette, but was so little impressed with it at the time (conceiving it to be one of those things which get into newspapers nobody knows how or why) that I cannot now recollect whether this gazette was of American or

foreign production, announcing that a celebrated artist had presented, or was about to present, to the President of the United States a sword of masterly workmanship, as an evidence of his veneration, etc. I thought no more of the matter afterwards until a gentleman with whom I have no acquaintance, coming from and going to I know not where, at a tavern I never could get information of, came across this sword (for it is presumed to be the same) pawned for thirty dollars, which he paid, left it in Alexandria, nine miles from my house in Virginia, with a person who refunded him the money and sent the sword to me. This is all I have been able to learn of this curious affair. The blade is highly wrought and decorated with many military emblems. It has my name engraved thereon and the following inscription, translated from the Dutch: 'Condemner of despotism, Preserver of liberty, glorious man, take from my son's hands, this sword, I beg you. A Solingen.'

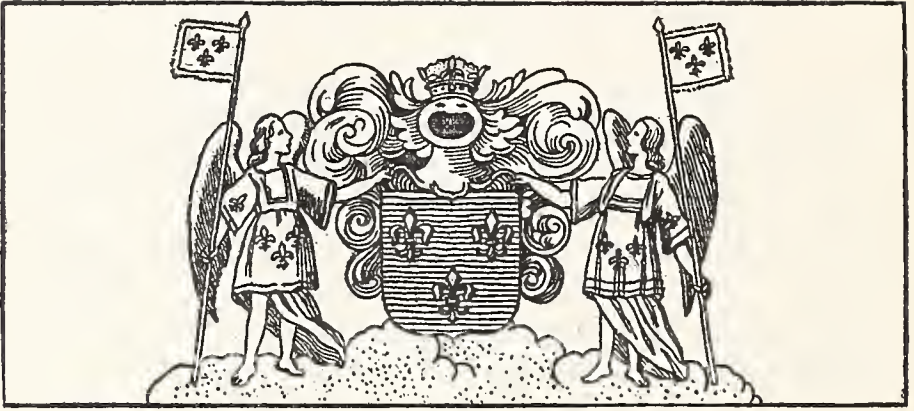
"The hilt is either gold or richly plated with that metal, and the whole carries with it the form of a horseman's sword or long sabre. The matter, as far as it appears at present, is a perfect enigma. How it should have come into this country without a letter, or an accompanying message, how afterward it should have got into such loose hands, and whither the person having it in possession was steering his course, remain as yet to be explained. Some of these points can only be explained by the maker, and the maker is no otherwise to be discovered than by the inscription and name, 'A. Solingen,' who, from the impression which dwells on my mind, is of Amsterdam. If sir, with this clew, you can develop the history of this sword, the value of it, the character of the maker, and his probable object in sending it, you would oblige me and

by relating these facts to him, might obviate doubts which otherwise might be entertained of its late reception."

Sparks, in a note to p. 171, gives the explanation that Alte of Solingen near Dusseldorf in 1795 sent by his son this sword, directing him to present it to President Washington. The son sold it at a tavern in Philadelphia. More than a year afterwards the father wrote a letter to Washington on the subject.

In view of the presentation of a statue of Frederick the Great to the United States by the Emperor of Germany, it may be of interest to refer to the contemporary sources of information as to the relations of Frederick the Great to the American Revolution. For that purpose, the following notes may enable the reader to see just how far that great soldier followed the course of events in America, and with what kindly interest he received the American agents sent to Europe to enlist his recognition, aid and support.





FREDERICK THE GREAT AND THE UNITED STATES.
(BY FREDERICK KAPP, LEIPZIG, 1871.)



AFTER a long series of offences at the hands of the English government, Frederick the Great was charged by it with preventing England from hiring a Russian corps to fight the Americans, and with allowing Prussian officers to serve with America—both groundless complaints, serving to show the English fear of Frederick's revenge. He

took a friendly interest in the American struggle, but sent none of his officers to America, for he was never asked to do so. Characteristic of the general opinion, is Franklin's clever skit, the edict of the King of Prussia, dated Potsdam, August 25, 1773, which made its mark alike in England and America. Frederick was popular in America as the leader of Protestant resistance to Catholic aggression, alike in Puritan New England, among the Ger-

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.



Kaulbach's neuester Carton Friedrich der Große.

FREDERICK THE GREAT, BY KAULBACH.

mans of Pennsylvania and New York, and with the leaders of the American Revolution. He was looked on as the ablest sovereign in Europe, and his heroic struggles in the Seven Years' War was pointed out as an example for America in its struggle for independence. Every expression of his against England and the German Princes who sold their soldiers to serve under the English flag in America was published in exaggerated terms. Washington, Franklin, Greene, all spoke of him with admiration. Steuben found a ready welcome as one of the King's pupils. Jefferson spoke of his death as a European disaster and an event that affected the whole world.

The gift of a handsome sword by a Prussian artisan, Theophilus Alte of Solingen, was the foundation of the legend often repeated, that it was Frederick the Great's recognition of the American leader. Bancroft pays due tribute to his character, example and influence in America. Frederick never thought of anything but the interest of Prussia in the struggle between England and its American colonies. He hoped to secure great advantages for his maritime province of East Prussia. Acquired in 1744, he sought to increase the trade of its ports, by exporting linen and importing tobacco. In 1751 Emden was made a free port, and first an Asiatic, and next in 1753, a Bengal trading company established. The merchants sent ships to China, East Indies and America, and the neutral Prussian flag protected ships sailing from Holland and Bremen.

After the Seven Years' War, Frederick was ready to encourage fisheries and to attract business from Amsterdam to Emden. Silas Deane, the first agent sent by Congress to establish diplomatic and commercial relations, asked the Prussian business agent in Paris if arms and munitions of war could be got in Prussia for the American col-

onies. Montesuy was active, but a little too energetic, and in July, 1777, he reported the inquiry and recommended a commercial treaty between Prussia and the American colonies. The King was ready to arrange for the importation of American tobacco at a better rate than that then paid for it, already advancing in price in English and French ports. In answer to questions as to direct importation, Deane said that tobacco could be got in exchange for linen, woollens, copper, lead and steel. Deane wrote to Congress urging that an agent be sent to Prussia, for while France and Spain were natural allies, and Italy needed American harvests, Prussia required information as to its own interests in trade with America (*Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. 1, p. 45). Montesuy told Deane that the King would be glad to see an American agent in Berlin (*Dip. Cor.*, Vol. 9, p. 346) and Deane asked if Carmichael would be received, and Carmichael went in the autumn of 1776 by way of Amsterdam to Berlin. Carmichael showed ability in explaining the mutual advantage of trade between Prussia and America, but the King was not ready for a treaty, nor even to recognize Carmichael in any other than his private and personal character. Appointed in September, 1776, Franklin, Deane and Arthur Lee addressed the Prussian government on the subject of establishing trade relations with the colonies. The King promptly pointed out the practical impossibility of commerce, in the absence of either Prussian or American ships to carry it on, and asked for further information as to the method of exchanging Prussian and American products. The commissioners tried to enlist Frederick's help in preventing the shipment of German soldiers to serve the English in America, and promised to send a minister to Berlin to discuss commercial relations. The King replied

güldig sein. Was der Kaiser zu schreiben so der
Majestät was von seiner Bekanntheit, und was er
von seinem Adel sein. Meinem allergnädigsten
Was der Kaiser zu schreiben
Und ich mit allem was in der
und die Kaiserin hat eine Miniatur von
Mein und allergnädigster
und die Kaiserin

Berlin den 9 April: 1757

Unterzeichnete
Virus und die Kaiserin

AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.

through his minister that an American agent might come to Berlin, but could have no official recognition, and that until America had established its independence, he could not enter into any treaty with it. Lee went to Berlin and at once set to work to point out the advantages and possibility of direct commercial relations between Prussia and America. There was an active correspondence between Lee and the Prussian minister, but the King simply allowed it to be carried on that he might gain time and information. He refused absolutely to open Emden to American privateers, lest he should be involved with England, much as he disliked the English government and its American policy. In his correspondence and conversation he never spoke of the Americans as rebels and in writing to Voltaire, he sneered at the English, and in a letter to D'Alembert he anticipated American independence as early as October 5, 1777. He said that England had treated its colonies unfairly, that it had underestimated their power, had hired troops in Germany and provided no ships for their transportation, had bought in London provisions for its army that was to fight in Pennsylvania, where everything was much cheaper. The separation of Carleton and Burgoyne prevented the one from supporting the other. With all its troubles in America, it had quarrelled with Russia and Holland, and would soon be in open warfare with France. In November, 1777, on receipt of the news of the surrender of Burgoyne, which came from Paris, in spite of the effort of the English government to conceal it, Frederick wrote to his brother, Prince Henry, that Prussia must watch Washington, Howe, Burgoyne, Carleton, and learn from them the great art of war, laugh at their mistakes, and approve when they act intelligently. His old hostility to England was increased by its war with Holland.

The theft of Arthur Lee's papers (copied and returned to him) by the agents of the English minister in Berlin, was passed over by the King with contemptuous indifference. Lee, a young American lawyer of thirty-six, wrote a characteristic letter to the King of sixty-four, in the hope of securing his recognition of the independence of the colonies at a time (June, 1777) when the King was sedulously avoiding any further difficulty with England. Lee wrote again and again, but never got a favorable answer. To his urgent appeal that no troops be sent from Russia, Germany and Denmark, to serve in America under the British flag, the Prussian minister replied that besides a few hundred German recruits, no more soldiers would be sent. William Lee, a brother of Arthur, and a man of more tact, never came to Berlin, but wrote frequently on all points of interest there. The King refused to take any steps until France recognized the independence of the English colonies in America. He granted Lee's request to be allowed to buy arms in Prussia, and added his request for information as to events in America, expressed a hope that the colonies might achieve their independence, but repeated his refusal to acknowledge it until France did so. Lee bought eight hundred muskets, but made the purchase a ground of complaint which met no favor from the Prussian authorities.

The outbreak of the Bavarian Succession War (January 3, 1778, to March 13, 1779) made the King anxious to enlist the sympathy of Great Britain, and cooled his interest in the American cause. When France did recognize American independence, Frederick said that he was too busy with home matters to consider the request of Lee, and as he had no fleet, his recognition could not have any real benefit for America.

Lee continued to supply information as to events in America but got no encouragement as to recognition. The King indeed continued his abuse of the English government and was inclined to hinder their efforts to transport German troops through his kingdom until he needed English influence in the Bavarian war of succession, and to gain that he was ready at least to cease sneering, as he had always done, at the petty German princes who sold their soldiers to England. He feared that his own army might be weakened by such a drain on the supply from which he drew recruits. With expressions of regard for the King of England, Frederick annoyed his representatives by refusing permission to take the Hessian Hanau and Anspach troops through Prussian lines to reach ports for shipment. The petty German princes had asked and almost obtained Frederick's consent to the sale of their troops to England, and therefore his interference was all the more annoying to its agents. The news of the surrender of Burgoyne made a very painful impression in Berlin, as Riedesel, in command of the Brunswick Corps, was the son-in-law of the Prussian War Minister, Massow. Most of the imprisoned Brunswick officers were well known in Berlin and had been in friendly relations with the Prussian officers since the Seven Years' War. Eliot, the British minister in Berlin, wrote home on November 29, 1777, that the approval of the passage (through Prussian territory) of the allied troops was already completed, when the news of Burgoyne's surrender was received, and it was withdrawn and an end came apparently of all favorable Prussian policy.

Frederick's refusal to permit the transport through his borders of any German troops engaged by England, fell like a bomb among the English recruiting agents and the German princes and their ministers. Sir Joseph York,

the English minister at The Hague, wrote to the English agent, Rainsford: "The King of Prussia is too much feared for any one to risk sending troops through his boundaries." Expresses and couriers hurried from one Court to another, notes were exchanged, and efforts made to induce the Prussian minister at Cologne and the commandant at Wesel to close their eyes, but all in vain. Faucitt, the English agent, wrote that "Hitherto the Rhine was open to all the world—now it is suddenly and unexpectedly closed. It is too late to change the route. At Minden the same interruption is threatened. I have written to Berlin and Hanau, Anspach and Cassel, and have advised Schlieffen, the Electors Minister, to send his troops around the Prussian borders." The English minister at Cologne wrote: "The troops cannot march over land or down the Rhine without passing Prussian territory and boats will be stopped at Wesel." The Anspach minister wrote: "If no means can be found to change the King's decision, all is lost, we are ruined, for it is impossible to move over land." Rainsford waited in vain, with the transports ready in Holland, weather favorable, and a day or two only needed to ship the troops. The only thing to do was to quarter the Anspach and Hanau troops for the winter in Hanau, and at the end of February, 1778, march them to the mouth of the Wesel, and it was only late in March that these 534 men reached the port of shipment after avoiding Prussian boundaries. The troops from Zerbst waited until spring, when they went through Saxony, Brunswick and Hanover to Stade, losing nearly half of their number by desertion—of 841 who were in the ranks on February 21, only 494 remained on March 21, 1778. The condition of affairs was largely influenced, if not decidedly affected, by Frederick's policy. Washington

was suffering all the hardships of his winter quarters at Valley Forge from December, 1777, to June, 1778. His weak force could not withstand a vigorous attack by Howe, but when the latter learned of Frederick's prohibition of the passage of troops through Prussian territory, Howe knew that meant cutting off the prospect of any reinforcement. It was not the few men delayed in their journey so much as the uncertainty for future German detachments. Frederick's policy was worth to Washington as much as an alliance, for it gave him time and helped to change the fortunes of war. Without really wishing to do so, Frederick rendered a real service to the young republic. Frederick soon changed his tactics towards England, when he needed its support in the matter of the Bavarian succession. He declared that it was Beaumarchais and his friends who were spreading false reports of his hostility to England to forward their own interests in the American Revolution. The King wanted to see the mother country again on a friendly footing with its American colonies. Early in March the King authorized the passage of the German allied troops through Prussian territory. He and his ministers assured the English ministry that the King never entertained any favorable consideration for the American rebels or their representatives. He wanted England's and Hanover's support. He reported that Austria was urging France to recognize American independence and seize England's German province, Hanover. Little credence as the English gave to these reports, they replied that they would like nothing better than to renew their old friendly relations with Prussia and unite with that country and Russia in close alliance. William Lee was in Frankfort, closely watching events. Breteuil, the French ambassador, tried to secure Prussian and

Russian recognition of American independence in the Peace of Teschen, but it failed, just as did the effort of Spain to act as peacemaker between England and its colonies. Lee reminded Frederick of his promise to recognize American independence as soon as France had done so, but was promptly told that Prussia had no interest in doing so, and as it had no fleet, could do nothing. Lee patiently waited, and John Adams advised Congress to do so, too, for the King of Prussia hoped to make Emden a sea-port, and to open through it trade with the American colonies for his manufactories in Silesia and Holland and Brunswick would follow him in any course he might decide on. Lee continued to advise Prussia of American news, but said nothing of the surrender by the Danes to England of prizes of American privateers. Carmichael from Spain received polite replies refusing to consider his appeals for recognition. Colonel Arendt, a German officer who had served in America, in vain sought permission to use Dutch capital in trade to America under the Prussian flag. Lee, early in 1781, renewed his efforts, this time complaining of the hostility to the colonies of a Prussian newspaper, but to him, and to Arendt, in December, 1783, and in May, 1783, to Jacob Philadelphia, a well-known Jew and quite a famous artist, all seeking Prussian recognition through business or other agencies, the same answers were given, refusing any action. Frederick soon showed England that it was for no love of that country he had granted permission for its German troops to cross his territory. In February, 1780, he had done this, but to the next application he made answer that this business of recruiting was depopulating Germany. England saw his influence against it in St. Petersburg and Copenhagen and The Hague. Frederick followed events in

America and promptly and sharply pursued the English minister at his Court with sneers at the English trouble in America and praise for American success. England believed that Prussia and France were bound by some secret agreement to encourage the rebellious Americans, and that Holland and Denmark were inspired by Prussia in their hostility to England. With the peace between England and America, Frederick offered to enter into close alliance with Great Britain, and urged that the English troops be not too quickly withdrawn from America, for he doubted if that country could long maintain its independence. It was too large for a republic, a form of government possible only to small, compact countries, such as Venice, Holland and Switzerland. He thought the time would come when some of the American colonies would want again to have the benefit of English government and to send representatives to Parliament. The Canadian territory should be very carefully guarded and General Carleton must treat the people very gently, so as to avoid any influence by French or Spanish agents. The Americans achieved their independence without any help from Frederick. All that he wanted was an outlet for the products of his country and a cheap market for their's, and the business came to nothing, because the Americans could not send to a Prussian port tobacco at low prices and take away in exchange Silesian woolen goods, etc. Of any evidence of political or personal sympathy on his part, there is no proof, but it is plain that he used the Americans only to advance his own interests in the game of European politics. Even the most zealous of his ministers could not encourage the American agents in their hope that Frederick would by his recognition give the weight of his good opinion to the struggling colonies.

In Reddaway's "Frederick the Great" (Putnam, 1904), p. 317, it is said, "When at that time a new republic arose across the ocean, King Frederick made haste to enter into commercial relations with it, in order to exchange cloth, woollen stuffs and linen, iron goods and porcelain, for rice, indigo, and Virginia tobacco. The 'most favoured nation' treaty of September 10, 1785, between Prussia and the United States of America, fulfilled, it is true, few of the expectations which both parties formed of it, for the English, who from a seafaring and capitalist point of view, were more competent, long continued to be the commercial intermediaries between those renegade colonies and the old world"; then cited from Kosen, "König Friederick der Grosse" (Berlin, 1903), p. 332: "He looked on while England and her colonies fell to blows in 1775 (?) and while France joined in the fray in 1778. He blamed the English both for political and military folly, for beginning a terrible civil war with no settled plans or adequate preparations, for underestimating the enemy's force, for dividing her own, and for trampling upon the rights of neutrals. But he avoided with the most scrupulous care any action that could give offence to either combatant, and declared to his ministers that he intended to wait the issue quietly and to throw in his lot with the side which fortune favored. Just before his death (1785) he entertained at dinner Lafayette and Cornwallis."

Kapp's "Soldatenhandel," Berlin, 1874, p. 151, etc. says: "Frederick the Great is almost the only ruler of his time who was worthy of respect, for he felt a personal responsibility for his government. He was, too, the only one who followed great political aims with clear intelligence. He was without prejudices, called things by their right name, and his sovereign contempt for England and its

allies supplying soldiers, was doubly beneficial. The King, like the German Emperor, had a close political interest in this, for it violated the laws of the Empire, and it deprive both of a great number of men who would fill their regiments, if not drawn off by the war in America. At the outset it was thought the number sent would not be large enough to affect the supply needed for the standing armies.

“ With the large force sent in 1777, at the suggestion of the imperial representative, the Rhenish princes began to show hostility to the shipment of troops. The Austrian recruiting offices complained that the recruits preferred service in America, and many old soldiers deserted to go there. Frederick, too, although outwardly civil to England, had never forgotten or forgiven Bute for abandoning him, and spoke with bitterness of the government that thought everything could be done with money. In his ‘ Memoirs ’ he wrote that England dealt with all the German Courts to obtain soldiers, thus diminishing the numbers at home. The King of Prussia quietly did his best to strengthen his own position and only incidentally interfered with that of England. He detained the new allies at every point in his kingdom, at Madgeburg, Minden and Wesel, and he taxed their baggage, but never openly opposed their transportation. He was, from his dislike to England, always outspoken in his friendship for America, exaggerating, in his conversation with the English minister at his Court, American successes, and dwelling on English disasters. He was credited with readiness to recognize American independence, when he really was not ready to do anything of the kind.” To the surprise of the Anspach authorities, he wrote in reply to their request for leave to send their soldiers through his territory, a letter

dated Potsdam, October 24, 1777, not printed in his works, nor published until Kapp made it known on page 161 of his book, from the Anspach archives as follows:

“I never think of the present war in America without being unpleasantly affected by the greed of some German princes who sacrifice their troops in a matter that don't affect them at all. My astonishment increases when I see this violation of our old German rule, never to spill German blood in behalf of foreign interests. In answer to the request of the Anspach authorities for leave to take their troops in the English service through my territory, I call attention to the fact that there are other and shorter routes to England.”

In vain did the Anspach ministers appeal, and the English ministers, too, received the same short refusal. Sir Joseph Yorke wrote: “Every one has such fear of the King of Prussia that it is impossible to disregard his action in thus closing the Rhine.”

A lively exchange of letters showed the result of this unexpected interference with the free movement of the allied troops on their way to ports of embarkation. The Rhine princes took their cue from Prussia and made the Anspach authorities, as well as the English agents, very uncomfortable. No passage across Prussian lines, no quarters allowed, no baggage permitted, and naturally frequent desertions, the poor soldiers kept in boats, only allowed to land for exercise, were for four weeks anchored at a little Anspach town, and of course recruiting officers, Prussian, Imperial, French and Dutch, doing their best to tempt the poor recruits into their service. The poor colonel was at his wits end, when finally the English agent arranged that Anspach and Hanau troops should be quartered in Hanau, a fortified town, while the authorities tried

to arrange for transport of the troops. After a long delay a way out was found, but with all this, the troops that left Anspach in October reached New York only in the next September. Later Frederick withdrew his objections and allowed free passage, but the Zerbst regiment had even harder fortune, with loss of men in its roundabout journey, and practically never even entered into active campaigning. The result of Frederick's policy was practically equal to a new ally for Washington, giving him time for restoring his waning strength and overcome his failing fortunes—so that even without wishing to do so, the King of Prussia had rendered the republican chief a great service. That Frederick the Great followed with great interest and close attention the course of events in America, is clear from his repeated requests for information from the Lees and other representatives of America in Europe, but his first and most important aim was the protection of his own kingdom and to that he sacrificed both his hostility to Great Britain and his benevolent interest in America.

E. J. Lowell, in his "The Hessians and the other Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War" (Harpers, 1884), p. 50, etc., states that Frederick the Great refused his nephew the Margrave of Anspach's request for permission to send his troops to America through Prussian territory and quotes Frederick's statement on the subject of the American war in his Memoirs. "Germany," the King wrote, "already felt the evil consequences of sending so many of her men into those distant climates, and the King of Prussia did not like to see the Empire deprived of all its defenders, especially in the case of a new war and for this reason he made difficulties about the passage of the troops of the princes allied to England."

Frederick subsequently encouraged the French Court to enter into the American alliance (Bancroft, Vol. 10, ch. 3). In January, 1778, Schulenberg, Frederick's minister, wrote to Arthur Lee that the King of Prussia would not delay to acknowledge the independence of the United States as soon as France should have done so, but with the change of interests incidental to the war of the Bavarian succession, this promise was not fulfilled. Later events made it still more difficult to secure from Prussia anything more, until it signed the commercial treaty with the United States.—Bancroft (ed. 1874), Vol. 10, p. 240, etc. Frederick of Prussia had raised the hope that he would follow France in recognizing the independence of the United States, but later he wrote: "The affairs of England and her colonies disappear from my eyes," when the question of his protection of his own country arose. To William Lee he directed his minister to answer in 1778: "We are so occupied with Germany that we cannot think of the Americans; we should be heartily glad to recognize them, but at this present moment it could do them no good, and to us might be very detrimental."

Lee's importunities only made Frederick more reserved. From his camp he always put them aside, yet with gentleness and caution. He could not receive the prizes of the Americans at Emden, because he had no means to protect the harbor against aggression; they might purchase in his dominions munitions of war; and their merchants would be received in his ports on the same terms as the merchants of all other countries.

In 1778, in reply to the effort of the British ministry to propitiate Frederick, he answered: "I will never lend myself to an alliance with England. I am not like so many German princes, to be gained by money." He re-

lented so far as to allow a few recruits for the English army to pass through his dominions, but proposals for closer relations with England were inflexibly declined. He sent word to France, "I offer my vows for the success of the French." Prussia adopted the system of neutrality just when it could benefit the United States the most. In 1779 he wrote: "The balance of power in Europe will not be disturbed by England's losing possessions in other parts of the world."

In "Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution," edited by Jared Sparks, Vol. 2, p. 58, Franklin, Deane and Arthur Lee, Paris, April 19, 1777, write to Baron de Schulenberg, Minister of the King of Prussia: "From the Congress we have their commands to inform his Prussian Majesty's Ambassador here, that they propose to send a minister to your respected Court properly empowered to treat upon affairs of importance, and that we are in the meantime instructed and authorized by Congress to solicit the friendship of your Court, to request that it would afford no aid to their enemies, but use its good offices to prevent the landing of troops by other powers to be transported to America for their destruction, and to offer the free commerce of the United States to the subjects of Prussia. June 5, 1777." Arthur Lee advises Schulenberg of his arrival in Berlin, June 7, 1777, advises him of the articles to be exchanged between Prussia and the United States, *e. g.*, tobacco for muskets—a musket which costs here (Berlin) 22 French livres, can be sold in America for at least 50. With these 50 livres 200 weight of tobacco can be bought, which in Europe will bring 200 livres. June 21, 1777, Schulenberg to Lee: The King is very much disposed to please your constituents, but his Majesty cannot embroil himself with the Court of London. June

29, 1777, Lee to the King of Prussia, urging recognition: "There is no name so highly respected among us as that of your Majesty. Hence there is no King the declaration of whose friendship would inspire our people with so much courage, and add so much force to our cause."

Paris, July 29, 1777, Lee to the Committee of Foreign Affairs: "Pressing for aid from the King, in artillery, arms and money, I could obtain nothing but assurance of his desire to serve us if it were in his power. Schulenberg delivered me a message from his Majesty, desiring me to assure my constituents that nothing would give him more pleasure than to hear of their success, and that he wished whatever good news I might receive be communicated to him. I did not omit to press his interposition relative to German and Russian auxiliaries. In answer to this, the minister assured me that we had no reason to apprehend anything either from one or the other in the future. The German princes who have hired their troops, besides having rendered themselves extremely odious, have suffered greatly, and are still suffering by the emigration of their subjects, for fear of being forced into this service, which is excessively unpopular and odious through all Germany; under these circumstances, these princes are neither much inclined nor at all able to furnish new supplies. The troops already sent were their utmost exertions, and in all probability will be their last."

October 8, 1777, Schulenberg to Lee: "We must wait for more favorable circumstances to begin a commercial connexion between the two peoples which his Majesty will receive with great pleasure in seeing increase, whenever it will not engage him in measures contrary to his principles."

December 18, 1777, Schulenberg to Lee: "His Majesty will not be the last power to acknowledge your indepen-

dency, but you must feel yourself that it is not natural that he should be the first, and that France, whose commercial and political interests are more immediately connected with yours, should set the example."

December 23, 1777, Schulenberg to Lee: "The information which you have had, that his Majesty has refused a passage to the auxiliary troops of Germany destined for America, is strictly true."

January 16, 1778, Schulenberg to Lee: "The King interests himself very much (in the events of your war) and his Majesty wishes that your efforts may be crowned with success, he will not hesitate to acknowledge your independence whenever France, which is more interested in the event of this contest, shall set the example."

Paris, June 1, 1778, Arthur Lee: "The King of Prussia has found it so necessary to cultivate the aid of Hannover, Hesse, Brunswick, etc., that he has declined receiving an American deputy or following the example of France as he promised."

February 25, 1779, William Lee, Frankfort: "The King of Prussia has formally engaged by a letter from his Minister, who writes in the King's name, that the merchants of North America, who should come with their merchant vessels into the ports of his Majesty to trade there, in merchandise that is not prohibited, should have full liberty," etc.

In Hayden's "Washington and His Masonic Compeers": New York, 1866 (2d ed.), it is said on page 148: "Frederick the Great of Prussia, who was at the head of Masonry in Continental Europe, sent him (Washington) an elegant sword with a complimentary inscription."

In the *Century Magazine*, Vol. 19 (1890-1, April, 1891, p. 945), is an article on "Washington and Fred-

erick the Great with the story of a mythical sword," by Moncure D. Conway. Washington ordered a bust of Frederick for Mount Vernon and had his works in thirteen volumes in his library. Conway says that Carlisle told him he had met no incident or phrase on which the American legend (that Frederick the Great sent a sword to Washington inscribed "From the oldest General in the war to the Greatest") might have been based. The story was originally told, not of a sword, but of Frederick's portrait, in a *New Jersey Journal* of August 9, 1780. There is no evidence that any such picture was sent to Washington. The only mention of Washington by Frederick in his voluminous works is in his "Memoirs," Vol. 4, p. 175—"Washington gained some advantages over the royalists who were assembled near Boston." His sympathies were in a mild way with the Americans—in his letter to D'Alembert, May 16, 1776. Frederick made no reply to D'Alembert's letter about the Hessians. On June 3, 1777, he casually says: "War still continues to be made on the poor Americans." On July 28, 1777, D'Alembert asks his opinion of this war and the manoeuvres of Washington, to which Frederick replied (Aug. 13): "I venture an opinion that the colonies will become independent."

We may feel tolerably certain that no gift was ever sent by Frederick the Great to Washington and that he never recognized in any remark the greatness of Washington. There was, however, a sword sent to Washington from Germany. In 1795 Theophilus Alte of Solingen made the sword which was No. 428 in the Centennial Exhibition (loaned by Miss Alice Riggs) and sent it to General Washington by his son. The son did not take it to Washington, but pawned it at a tavern in Philadelphia for thirty dollars. A gentleman redeemed it and left it

with another in Alexandria who repaid the money and sent it to Washington. On it is Washington's name and an inscription in German "Condemner of despotism, preserver of liberty, glorious man, take from my son's hands the sword, I beg you. A. Solingen." This translation was made for Washington, who thought it was Dutch, and "Solingen" the name of a man in Amsterdam. But a year later Alte wrote to him and the facts came out. This was the sword chosen by George Steptoe Washington under the terms of his uncle's will. It was buried during the Civil War, and it is still rusty, but its admirable workmanship is still evident. Washington was a good deal mystified about the sword, and instituted inquiries during the year in which he heard nothing from Alte or his son. It is possible that during that time the story which had been told about a picture of Frederick was modified into a sword legend. The earliest reference to it on record is on February 8, 1843, on the presentation of the sword of Washington and the staff of Franklin in the House of Representatives. This was his service sword, marked 1757, which Washington had borne in all his great battles. It was presented by Samuel T., son of the Samuel (Washington's nephew), by whom it had been selected.









